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## Editorial

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### THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN'S LATIN INSTITUTE

"What is going to happen to Latin in our high schools?" This question, too often heard by teachers of Latin, seems to imply that something of a sinister character is going to happen to Latin. It is certain, however, that no such misgivings exist in the minds of those who attended the Institute for Teachers of Latin held in Ann Arbor, July 10 to 15. Whatever their apprehensions or convictions may have been previous to the date of the Institute, it is clear from opinions expressed during the Institute and from numerous letters received since that date that this fortunate group left Ann Arbor with apprehensions allayed and convictions deepened. The gist of the week's experience may be briefly summarized with the thought that the study of Latin represents a permanence in the better things of life—a sentiment which is gathering more and more strength among those who have the secondary curriculum under their control.

The program of the week, as stated in the announcement, was designed to meet the practical needs of two groups of teachers: (1) those whose training had not included courses in the methods and practices of Latin teaching, and (2) teachers of long experience who desired to become acquainted with recently developed procedures in Latin instruction. In addition to lectures, papers and round-table discussions devoted to the problems of high-school teaching, seven lectures were given on archaeological and literary subjects relating to classical civilization. The lively discussions from the floor, in which many *praeter consuetudinem* freely par-

ticipated, not only contributed to the enthusiasm of the group but through the interchange of ideas settled certain perplexing questions.

As was the case at the Institute held in the summer of 1935, the exhibit in the Latin seminar room of books, maps, pictures, tests, syllabi, catalogs, and other teaching materials, proved to be a center of attraction throughout the week.

No fees were charged for attendance at the Institute and the privileges of the University were extended to members. Many availed themselves of the opportunity of attending other University lectures, concerts, and the Summer Repertory Theater Plays.

The social phase of the Institute was not neglected. The members, who had become acquainted with one another at a reception given by Professor and Mrs. John G. Winter at the Michigan League Building, continued to meet in informal groups throughout the week. The program was brought to a close Saturday noon by a subscription luncheon.

While high-school teachers accounted for the majority of the one hundred and fifty-five enrolled for the Institute, colleges, normal schools, and schools of education were represented. Attendance at a number of the sessions exceeded the enrollment, due to the fact that many students of the summer session attended who had not enrolled for the Institute. Of the one hundred and fifty-five enrolled thirty-nine were attending the summer session. Members came from twenty-three states, including California, Nebraska, Texas, Mississippi, Delaware, and New Jersey. Michigan, as was to be expected, accounted for seventy, of whom fifteen were on the campus. Others, for the most part, came from Ohio, Illinois, Indiana, Pennsylvania, and New York.

A condensed program of the Institute will be found in the "Current Events" of this issue.

F.S.D.

## ADVENTURES OF A DILETTANTE IN A PROVINCIAL FAMILY

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In so far as the *Apology* of Apuleius is a chronicle of family bickerings, it has but slight appeal for most readers of the present day. Although the Sicinii of Oea seem to have had the same quarrelsome energy as another provincial family, the one made famous in recent years by the novels of Miss Mazo de la Roche, we find in them but little of the Whiteoaks' charm. Our interest quickens, however, when we come to another aspect of the speech, its revelation of a personality at once typical and unique. Perhaps the unique in Apuleius' character can be better sensed than expressed, but the type is unmistakable: he is a hobbyist, an enthusiast, too fanciful to be what he calls himself, a philosopher, and deficient in the detached control of a serious scientist, though his interest extends to zoology and medicine as well as magic and religion. Yet he is truly a lively protagonist when he takes his place among these dullish *dramatis personae*; an entertaining contrast then appears, and it grows evident that, apart from the financial schemings which lay at the bottom of the dispute, this rather narrow and suspicious African town was hardly ready anyhow to assimilate so odd a morsel of humanity as he. Apuleius may have won his case, as the editors of his plea believe,<sup>1</sup> but it would seem that soon

<sup>1</sup> See the Introduction to Butler and Owen's edition: Oxford, Clarendon Press (1914), xvi f. (cf. Norden, *op. cit.* below, 49; Ussani, *op. cit.* below, 138). I have levied freely upon this edition in writing this sketch, but have dwelt much more circumstantially upon some parts of the story than did the editors in their concise Introduction. At the same time I have been obliged to restate for my own purposes some of the factual data which Butler and Owen had already set forth both accurately and adequately. Occasional reference has been made to two treatises which appeared later, or at least too late for them to use: Fritz Norden, *Apulejus von Madaura und das römische Privatrecht*:

afterward he moved on to Carthage, where he probably found more tolerance for his eccentricities. It is this clash of tastes and interests that I should like to limn here.

When first he came it was winter, and he was on his way to Alexandria. Ill and weary from travel, he decided to stop over in Oea, where he lodged for a time with some old friends, the Appii.<sup>2</sup> Here Sicinius Pontianus, a young townsman, whose acquaintance he had made while both were studying in Athens (72,7-10), came to visit him, and sagely concluded that this unworldly friend would make a safe husband for his widowed mother, Aemilia Pudentilla. Seeing that he was eager to be on his way again and that he had, so to speak, the "instincts of a bachelor," *conversum ab uxoria re*, Pontianus persuaded him to put off his departure till a season more suitable for travel (72,7-18); and he craftily removed the visitor to his mother's house, where there was a view of the sea, urging that this would be a more healthful habitation (72,19-22). Apuleius was duly introduced to the mother and the younger brother, Pudens, and as he grew stronger he readily fell again into the rôle of tutor. Within a few days after his arrival he won great applause with an address in the basilica before a capacity audience, and was invited to settle down and become a citizen (73,1-8). This may have been the declamation *On the Glory of Aesculapius*, a speech, published and widely read in Oea (55,26-31), in which he evidently thanked the god for his recovery. Pudens alone seems to have given the visitor a somewhat reserved welcome. Young, wealthy, and snobbish, he observed with disapproval that the other had come attended by a single slave (17,5 f.); his own family owned hundreds (93,15 f.). He failed to understand that Apuleius

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Leipzig, Teubner (1912); and T. R. S. Broughton, *The Romanization of Africa Procon-laris*, "Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science," New Series, No. 5, (1929). This essay was intentionally written before I had read the splendid book by Miss Elizabeth H. Haight, *Apuleius and His Influence* "Our Debt to Greece and Rome Series": New York, Longmans, Green and Co. (1927). There is some good criticism in an article by Vincenzo Ussani, "Magia, misticismo e arte in Apuleio," *Nuova antologia, Rivista di lettere, scienze ed arti*, Settima serie, CCLXIV (1929), 137-155.

<sup>2</sup> 72, 1-7. All citations are according to section and line as in the text of Butler and Owen.



not only believed in "traveling light" through life (21,15-20), but gloried in at least the appearance of poverty, simple "philosopher" that he was (17,14-31). As a matter of fact, his position was but little inferior to his hosts', because his father had been a *duumvir* and the leading citizen of Madaura, a comparatively small<sup>3</sup> but thriving city on the border of Numidia and Gaetulia (24,1-6 and 19-27). Apuleius was therefore a hereditary member of Madaura's senate (24,24-26), and had shared with his brother in an inheritance of some two million sesterces, though he had spent freely on his travels, his long course of study, and repeated acts of generosity to friends and teachers.<sup>4</sup>

Now, most unwarily, he had plunged into the very midst of a "situation." Aemilia Pudentilla, though only in her late thirties, as her birth-certificate proved (89), had been many years a widow. Plain (*mediocri facie*, 73,15; *mediocri forma*, 92,14), on the whole serious (her *gravitas*, 77,13), and of a character beyond reproach (*feminam sanctissimam et pudicissimam*, 78,2), she could, in spite of her calmness, grow angry and stubborn on occasion (77,15-17). She wrote Greek simply but correctly, and seems to have preferred it for her correspondence.<sup>5</sup> Her husband, Sicinius Amicus, had died, leaving their two sons under the *potestas* of the paternal grandfather, but she had supported them for fourteen years and during that time had renounced any thought of a second marriage, though still in the prime of life (68,7-12). The boys' grandfather had wished her to wed a second son, Sicinius Clarus, and had discouraged all other suitors, threatening to cut his grandsons off from their father's property should she take anyone else (68,13-16). Cunningly enough, Pudentilla had suffered the marriage agreement to be drawn up, but, not unlike another Penelope, she had kept postponing the fatal day until her father-in-law died, making the grandsons his heirs. At this time Pontianus had become his younger brother's guardian (68,16-24), since he was now his nearest male kinsman. Now, too, the local eligibles had renewed their suit and, being at last a free agent, she had begun to

<sup>3</sup> See Broughton, *op. cit.*, in n. 1, 104 f.

<sup>4</sup> 23, 3-8. Norden twice describes him as "bettelarm," but all Apuleius says is that his inheritance had been "modice imminutum." <sup>5</sup> 30, 32; 61, 1; 66, 1; 67, 9, and below.

think seriously of a second venture, which her physicians had also advised (69,1-12); and her other brother-in-law, Sicinius Aemilianus, had written to Pontianus, now of age and resident in Rome, approving her course (69,12-21). Naturally he was eager for her to take his younger brother Clarus, though even he was old and feeble enough (70,5-8). He wrote to Pontianus in Rome, begging him to agree to the match,<sup>6</sup> but Pudentilla, who seems to have kept them all guessing as to who her chosen would be (70,4 f.), had artfully neglected to forward Aemilianus' letter to her son (70,13-16). Instead, she had written to him herself, speaking frankly of her poor health and her loneliness, and touching upon the fact that Pontianus himself was now old enough for a wife and Pudens almost of age (70,16-26). Pontianus' answer had been to come straight home. He feared that a second marriage might imperil his own and his brother's fortunes, should the prospective husband turn out to be avaricious (71,11-13). Much, in fact, was at stake. His grandfather had left only a modest legacy, but his mother now held the goodly sum of four million sesterces—twice the fortune in which Apuleius had shared, and her sons' right to some of it was only verbal, not fully attested, as yet, by the proper documents (71,16-20).

When Apuleius was aglow at his flattering public reception, Pontianus broached to him the subject that was uppermost in his mind (73,9-13). The guest, however, allowed himself a year in which to appraise the lady's qualifications, since he was still inclined to regard wedlock as an *impedimentum* (73,18-26). With his mother Pontianus was apparently successful from the first (73,26-28). He wished to have the ceremony performed as soon as might be, but his elders preferred to wait until he himself had married and his brother had put on the formal attire of manhood (73,28-31).

Pontianus' bride was the daughter of Herennius Rufinus, who was to become the prime mover of the prosecution (74,17-21). He and his family are described as having been almost fantastically immoral.<sup>7</sup> His father had gone into bankruptcy but, by putting

<sup>6</sup> 69, 20-23; cf. 70, 11-13.

<sup>7</sup> 74, 25-31; 76, 1-6.

everything under his wife's name, had emerged with a fortune of three million sesterces. Rufinus had squandered it all in a few years.<sup>8</sup> His daughter had found debauchers enough (or so we are told!) but would never have won a husband had it not been for the gullible Pontianus, who went through the form of a marriage with her even though his mother and her affianced strongly advised against it (76,1-10). And now, when Rufinus tried to turn Pontianus against his mother's plans (77), she retired to the country and from there sent her son one of her remarkable Greek letters.<sup>9</sup> It read in part (83,2-7):

Not only did I wish to marry, for the reasons mentioned, but you urged me yourself to choose this man in preference to all others; this was because you admired the gentleman and were eager to make him our kinsman through me. But as our spiteful maligners are trying now to persuade you, Apuleius suddenly became a charmer, and I've been charmed by him and I'm in love. Come to me then, while I am still in my right senses!

The last sentence was written with humorous intent (87,18); just as many an estimable lady today will occasionally permit herself to insert a playful "Ha!" in her correspondence.<sup>10</sup> She was "charmed," of course, yet she meant it, not in the sinister sense, but only coquettishly, by way of hinting that the initiative had been taken by her admirer, not herself (79,1-3). Not long after sending this missive she called her sons and her daughter-in-law to her and lived with them for about two months, ably managing the affairs of her estate the while—a proof of her complete sanity (87,20-29). She remained firm in her decision, for which she had at least four good reasons: her long widowhood, her desire to regain her health, her sincere admiration for Apuleius, and her son's earlier entreaties (80,20-23). At Pontianus' wedding the necessity of giving a largesse to the people had led to no little expense, so her own wedding took place in the privacy of her suburban villa; in this way banquets and other tedious affairs were also avoided (88,

<sup>8</sup> 75, 18-26, 29-35.

<sup>9</sup> 78, 12-14. There was also a forged letter, in Greek too barbarous to have been written by Apuleius, which made it appear that she had succumbed to his blandishments (87, 5-16).

<sup>10</sup> I do not see how Norden (p. 31) could regard this letter as a really damaging piece of evidence.

1-8), but there were some who professed to think the arrangement scandalously casual. It was further the sort of marriage in which the bride remained *sui iuris*, retaining her former guardian instead of coming into her husband's *manus*.<sup>11</sup> Her dowry, some three hundred thousand sesterces (92,2), was very modest in view of her wealth.<sup>12</sup> and it was not given outright to this "philosopher who scorned dots" (92,36 f.), but was only placed in trust on condition that if she should die without leaving any child by her second husband, it would all revert to her sons, and that in the other case such a child would receive a half and Pontianus and Pudens the other half jointly.<sup>13</sup> The sum seemed all the smaller considering that even the impoverished Rufinus had dowered his daughter with four hundred thousand sesterces on credit (92,6 f.). But here loftier considerations prevailed; this was by now a case of *mutuus amor* (92,12); and the bride, for her part, was very much in love (79,22, *efflictim te amabat*. . .).

Now it was that Pontianus, a rather wavering youth, fell completely under the dominance of his wife's father. He foolishly showed his mother's letter to Rufinus, who isolated from its context the passage in which she said, "Apuleius suddenly became a charmer, and I've been charmed by him . . .," and showed it about town to excite hostility toward the unsuspecting philosopher. Pontianus further degraded himself by accompanying the other on this malicious errand, what time he let fall real or spurious tears (82). Apuleius, however, soon awoke to the danger, and countered it adroitly. Not without some difficulty, he prevailed upon his wife to make a formal conveyance to her sons of all that was properly theirs; and this she did in a most generous fashion. She paid her debts in land assessed cheaply—in fact, at her sons' own valuation—and gave them a large house, elaborately furnished, a store of grain, wine, and oil, with many cattle, and about four hundred slaves (93). Local sympathy soon shifted, and Pontianus was not slow to sense the change. Apuleius had also taken the precaution of writing to his friend, the proconsul Lollianus Avitus, explaining

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Norden, *op. cit.*, 114, 142.

<sup>12</sup> In this period a million sesterces was considered the normal minimum (Norden, 99, note 1 and *ref.*). <sup>13</sup> 91, 22-28; cf. Norden, 93 f.

all the circumstances. It was hardly surprising when, a few days later, the errant son came to his mother's home for forgiveness. He was anxious likewise to be absolved in the eyes of the proconsul; so, armed with letters supplied most complaisantly by his stepfather, he hurried to Carthage, where Avitus, his proconsulship almost ended, was awaiting Claudius Maximus, his successor. Congratulating the young man on having seen in time the error of his ways, Avitus placed in his hands a reply to Apuleius, couched in elegant language (94). Pontianus also sent him several friendly notes from the capital, but he fell ill on his way home and died, pathetically, before he could enjoy either his new wealth or his new-won peace of mind (96,18-25). In his will he made final amends to his injured friend (97,5-7). He had found only disillusionment in the few months of his married life (97,9), and made clear his displeasure with his wife by leaving her only some linen worth about two-hundred denarii.<sup>14</sup> Rufinus prevented the completion of this second will, which was even more disappointing to him than the first;<sup>15</sup> both of them, however, made the testator's mother and brother the chief heirs (97,21-23), so it mattered little that the earlier one was validated.

Soon after his brother's death young Pudens left his mother's home to live with his uncle, Aemilianus, who had become his legal guardian.<sup>16</sup> The boy's habits now underwent a marked change for the worse. Deserting his teachers, he took up a life of idle pleasure and made no further effort to speak Latin, but used only the Punic dear to the farmers and the poorer classes,<sup>17</sup> or a few Greek phrases once learned from his mother (98,15-31). Apparently his uncle, who before had never so much as spoken to Pudens when they met (98, 14-17), now thought it would be wise to humor the whims of his wealthy ward,<sup>18</sup> while Rufinus brazenly began to throw his wid-

<sup>14</sup> 97, 16-21. Since *meretrices* commonly wore *pallia lineae*, it has been suggested that he wished thus to brand her immorality (Norden, 144).

<sup>15</sup> 97, 8-11. On the relation between the two wills, see Butler and Owen's note on 97, 5.

<sup>16</sup> 98, 1-4; cf. 100, 19-27.

<sup>17</sup> See Broughton, *op. cit.*, 132, 156.

<sup>18</sup> Norden (150 f.) suggests that he lured Pudens to his house in order to keep him from making a will; if Pudens should have died intestate, his uncle would have become his heir.



owed daughter at the young heir's head (97,23-26). Pudens, we are told, was so bitterly offended because his mother had been made coheir with himself that he actually tried to prevent her from attending the funeral (100,16-19). This was a family of many wills; Pudentilla, now falling into an illness the causes of which imagination readily supplies, drew up her own, and only after lengthy argument did Apuleius prevail upon her not to disinherit Pudens for his insolence (99,7-11). Our philosopher was wisely resolved to have no more to do with these troublesome riches of the Sicinii, so the pair agreed that he, the husband, was to receive only some trifle or other *honoris gratia* (100,3-6). Even though he is a little theatrical about it, he wins our perfect sympathy when he finally washes his hands of all further concern in the matter (101, 1-4).

But he still remained a ready target for abuse, and next it was charged that he had bought himself an expensive farm. Actually it was no more than an *exiguum herediolum*, purchased in Pudentilla's name for a mere sixty thousand sesterces (101,12-17). This transaction, I think, may have been connected somehow with the mysterious suit *adversus Granios* which Apuleius was pleading in Pudentilla's behalf at Sabrata<sup>19</sup> when the *patroni* of Aemilianus unexpectedly opened fire upon him with the allegation that he had murdered Pontianus<sup>20</sup> and won Pudentilla by the practice of magic. Challenged to make a formal accusation, Aemilianus repented of his rashness, and withdrew the charge of murder in signing the *inscriptio*, or formal complaint (1,16-2,6). The next day, further to protect himself against a countercharge of defamation, he made a new indictment in the name of his ward Pudens.<sup>21</sup> The trial was held, four or five days after the first accusation, in the court of Claudius Maximus the proconsul, a man of

<sup>19</sup> Norden (p. 15) believes that Apuleius served as Pudentilla's advocate on this occasion; he argues (pp. 12 ff.) against Helm, that he had practiced this profession, and not merely that of a sophist, in Rome (cf. *Met.* xi, 28 and 30). He certainly did not appear as her *tutor* (Norden, 139, and below).

<sup>20</sup> I am afraid that Mr. Burton Rascoe was guilty of a "howler" when he wrote, in his essay on Apuleius, that he was charged with having murdered "Pudentilla's second husband" (*Prometheans, Ancient and Modern*; New York and London, G. P. Putnam's sons [1933], 190).

<sup>21</sup> 2, 6-11; cf. Norden, pp. 136 f.



wealth and learning (19,1-10); and a statue of the emperor, Antoninus Pius, gazed down benignly upon the excited throng of townspeople who attended (85,5). It may be that Apuleius left his wife's house and took lodgings for the duration of the trial; at least, *hospitium meum* (63,12) would seem otherwise to be rather oddly applied. Whether Pudentilla testified does not appear, but Cassius Longinus, her "guardian as voucher" (*tutor auctor*) was called as a witness for the defense, and his evidence as to the purchase of the farm must have had considerable weight (101,18-22).

Apuleius had now spent about three years in Oea (55,25), and all this time he had strained to the limit such resources for study as the place afforded. His activities, pursued with a complete lack of caution and self-consciousness, seem to have puzzled the inhabitants no little. The nature of the evidence produced at the trial shows that the Oeenses, masters and slaves alike, had pried inquisitively into his affairs.<sup>22</sup> He was little short of a sensation, and they were at a loss to pin a label to him. To some, true enough, he seemed the perfect type of a "handsome philosopher" (4,2), but he now protested that the exertions of a literary life had sadly impaired his ever moderate charms (4,21 ff.). His tow-like<sup>23</sup> hair had but the slightest acquaintance with the brush (4,25-32); and he was no narcissist, as alleged, for, though he owned and used a mirror (13,11-16), the interest which he took in his own features was purely philosophical (15,8-15); he liked to speculate on how refracted light-rays produce a reversed image (15,27-33), and he was intrigued by the curiously contorted reflections seen in concave and convex surfaces (16,3-7). He had dashed off a metrical endorsement of tooth-powder and sent it, with a sample, to a friend (6). Following the example of oral hygiene set him by the Nile crocodiles (8,16-23), he diligently cleansed his own *ἔρκος ὀδόντων* (*dentium muro*, 7,5-12). In spite of modest disclaimers (5) he was clearly quite complacent about his gaudy eloquence, his facility in both Latin and Greek,<sup>24</sup> and his light amatory

<sup>22</sup> Norden (27) observes that though few attorneys' speeches are ever published, Apuleius did publish the *Apology* as an effective means of quieting gossip.

<sup>23</sup> I do not think it necessarily follows from this comparison that he had "biond capelli" (cf. Ussani, *op. cit.*, 137). <sup>24</sup> 4, 2-3; cf. 87, 12.

verses,<sup>25</sup> which he defended in the usual way (11,5 f.); and nothing so jarred upon his sensibilities as to hear poetry badly read (5,19 f; 9,2 f).

Ichthyological studies had claimed many of his waking hours. He had hired the native fishermen to bring him all the less familiar species for examination, and his servant Themison, named after a rather famous Greek physician, had become a busy research assistant. But such ardor in the service of pure science had puzzled the Oeenses, some of whom insinuated that he had searched particularly for two species which would serve as love-charms, since their names happened to be the same as those of *utriusque sexus genitalia* (33-34). In reality he was a sober investigator, following consciously in the footsteps of Aristotle and Theophrastus, Eudemus and Lycon, whose voluminous writings on the subject he was revising and condensing in both tongues, striving at the same time to supply omissions (36; cf. 40,16 f.). One of the topics treated was spontaneous generation (38,4 *qui [piscis] ex limo coalescant*), and a valuable feature of the work was the "minting" of a Latin terminology parallel to the Greek (38,13-16). At the trial he proudly bade the clerk of the court read off a list of thirteen Greek tongue-twisters, followed by his own Latin coinages (38,19-26). He knew besides that some fish have medicinal properties and he had made dissections, demonstrating to the Oeenses that what they called a "sea-hare" (*lepus marinus*) was really some unknown rarity, because it had in its stomach twelve joined bones "like the knuckle-bones of a sucking-pig" (40,24-31). Here one almost senses a monograph in the germ. But the mysterious journey which he had made into the mountains of Gaetulia may not have been a scientific expedition, though one German scholar has concluded that he was probably searching for fossil remains.<sup>26</sup>

Nor were his medical attainments by any means negligible. On epilepsy he could almost have passed as an authority, for he understood the use of jet as a test of the disorder (45,14-16); he knew how the patient's misery was increased if he watched the turning

<sup>25</sup> 9-13. In 9, 7-9 he plays upon *malos* and *bonos versus* in both the moral and the aesthetic sense, much as Horace does in *Sat. II, 1, 82-84*.

<sup>26</sup> 41, 17-18 and Butler and Owen's note.

of a potter's wheel (45,17-20); he was aware that newts' skins were sometimes recommended as a specific (51,14-19); and he could even explain the causes in some detail on the basis of Plato's *Timaeus* (49-50). He had questioned a woman sufferer brought to him by Themison, asking whether her ears rang, and which of them the more (48,1-10). When she replied that the ringing was worse in her right ear, he had realized that her condition was truly serious (51,6-9). He had shown a special interest in the case of a young patient named Thallus, who fell into a fit three or four times a day (43,23-29) and was forced to live in the country because of a belief that his affliction was contagious (44,4-6). Our physician had failed to foresee that his purpose could be deliberately misconstrued, as if he had placed a charm upon the lad in some kind of secret ritual (42,8-14).

Even after he went to live with Pontianus and his mother<sup>27</sup> Apuleius had maintained close relations with the Appii. Apparently these old friends were far less prosperous than the Sicinii, because Appius Quintianus lived in a combination bed-and-living-room which he rented from a certain Junius Crassus (57,5-9). The landlord had returned from a spree in Alexandria to find that his tenant had moved out, leaving the walls dark with soot and the floors littered with feathers (58,6-8). Though this evidence was only circumstantial, he jumped to the conclusion that Apuleius and his friend had taken advantage of his absence to perform some nocturnal ceremony or other. So, at least, he was now induced to testify (58, 3 f.), in spite of certain improbabilities: that the two would have chosen such restricted quarters for the purpose, that Appius would not have had a slave to sweep up the feathers, that he would have tolerated the soot in his room for so long (58,10-21), or that Crassus' servant would have allowed him to move and leave it in such a condition (58,26-28). Crassus, who had been seen drunk in Sabrata on the day before the trial (59,4-6), did not appear in court, but his evidence was read there. Since he had spent all his inheritance in debauchery, it was perhaps the more probable that he had accepted a bribe (59,24-29).

<sup>27</sup> 58, 12 *non domi meae* shows that this was after he had moved.

Then there was a handkerchief which for a time seemed almost as incriminating as Desdemona's. Apuleius had left it folded on a table in Pontianus' study, where it had lain long and mysteriously (53,1-6), its contents unknown either to the master of the house or to a freedman of his who served as librarian (53,20-27). Taking a random shot, the accusers proclaimed that it held implements of magic, but even they had to wait until the owner made the promised disclosure, which he delayed, however, by inserting a tantalizing digression (55,18-35): it was of linen, the ritually correct material (56,3-10), and in it were "certain rattles used in the mysteries," *quaedam sacrorum crepundia*, possibly those of Isis. There was also some gossip to the effect that he had in his possession a small but gruesome skeleton of wood, which he worshiped under the name of "king," βασιλεύς, (61,1-6). The explanation was that Apuleius, charmed by some geometrical models made out of boxwood by one Cornelius Saturninus, had ordered from him "certain mechanical devices," *quaedam mechanica*, as well as an image of any god the artist might wish to make, and of any kind of wood.<sup>28</sup> At first it was to have been of boxwood, but Pontianus had furnished some pieces of ebony, thinking his step-father would be pleased by the substitution of this rarer, more durable material. The work was finished without any secrecy whatever, the result being a little Mercury<sup>29</sup> which its proud owner admittedly worshiped, carrying it among his books wherever he went (63,7-10). But here, as elsewhere, Apuleius unguardedly tips his hand; for Norden (44 f.), following Abt, has shown that the "Mercury" was really a Hermes—Hermes Trismegistus, the very patron of magicians; characteristic was his chlamys (63,26 f.: *quam autem festive circa humeros vestis substricta sit.*), and significant the fact that ebony, a magic wood, was chosen. It seems undeniable that he had actually dabbled to some extent in the black arts,<sup>30</sup> as indeed a man of his wide-ranging curiosity could scarcely have failed to do. The evasiveness with which he handles this first part of his de-

<sup>28</sup> In 65, 4-26 he quotes Plato's *Laws* as authority for this choice of material.

<sup>29</sup> *Mercuriolus*, 61, 26; 63, 12; described fully in 63, 21-27.

<sup>30</sup> See Norden's *Einleitung*, 31 and *passim*; Ussani, *op. cit.* 139.

fense is unmistakable,<sup>31</sup> and it was a fairly impressive array of witnesses and evidence<sup>32</sup> which the accusers produced under the direction of Tannonius Pudens, their advocate.<sup>33</sup> Themison, the defendant's own servant, described his dissections of fish (40,12-14) and his interview with the woman-patient (48,5-10). Fourteen slaves, companions of Thallus, told of his encounter with that young epileptic (44,3 and 15 f.), while Pudens, though hardly disinterested, added his evidence as eye-witness (45,25). Pontianus' librarian spoke of the handkerchief (53,22-27) and Saturninus of the Hermes he himself had made (61,10-14). Finally, written evidence was brought forward—Pudentilla's letter (82) and the deposition of Junius Crassus (57,3-5; 59,1 f.). Yet it would be one thing, I think, for us to convict him of the act (which his contemporaries were probably too lenient to do) and another to believe that he ever tried to use the art for criminal purposes, any more than would a visitor at a séance today. In any case, when he leaves this subject and turns to his relations with Pudentilla, we see that there is nothing on his conscience: now, with solid proofs at his command, he speaks forthrightly, as if himself the accuser. As one *hapax legomenon* after another comes purling so richly from his lips we realize that while ostensibly defending himself he is really achieving a most devastating excoriation of his prosecutors. The contrast between the narrowness of their experience and his own broad and cultivated knowledge of the world is drawn with a merciless insistence. Aemilianus bears the brunt of the onslaught; he

<sup>31</sup> Cf. Norden, 43.

<sup>32</sup> Norden offers a neat summary of it (29-31). He speaks as if they had had only a short time at their disposal. But if we compare the various chronological data in the *Apology*, we shall find that there was an interval of astonishing length between Pontianus' death and the trial which it occasioned. Apuleius reached Oea in winter (72, 1-5), and a year passed before he married Pudentilla (73, 18-26). Pontianus had married more than two months before this (87, 20 f.), but he died after only "a few months" of married life (97, 9 f.). Yet Apuleius had lived in Oea three years at the time of the trial (55, 25). Therefore Pontianus' death probably fell in the first half of Apuleius' second year of residence, and almost a year and a half may have elapsed before his trial. So the accusers had ample time to marshal every possible bit of evidence before they seized the pretext, furnished by the Granii, for launching their attack.

<sup>33</sup> 30, 12; 33, 16-23; 46, 1-6.



is described as a rustic (60,20; 10,15-17) and a boor (23,11, *incultus et agrestis*), ignorant of Greek (30,32 f.), one who would have been a "late-learner" if he had been willing to learn at all (10,23; 36,3-5). An ugly old man (16,18-21; 53,9) with "one foot in the grave" (a *senex capularis*, 66,24), he cares for little besides the tilling of his hard, sterile acres near Zarath (16,16-21; 23,14-17; 24,30). But he is as greedy as he is poor, hence his bitter rage at his sister-in-law's second marriage (28,17-20). Recently he has benefited from the deaths of several kinsmen, so that he is nicknamed "Charon" as much on this account as because of his ugliness (23,17-20; cf. 56,21 f.). To religion he is quite indifferent; on his farm and in his villa there is nothing remotely suggestive of a shrine or image; so he is likewise dubbed Mezentius, *contemptor deorum* (56,12-23).

Ethically this sort of thing may be hardly admirable, yet one feels that by his long term of forbearance Apuleius fairly earned the right to tell his enemies just what he thought of them. If he did it scurrilously, perhaps it was because he knew that this was the only sort of idiom they could understand. We realize that he is a master of words, though many of them are very strange. How could a plain woman like Pudentilla have failed to be thrilled by a man who could describe so glibly the *collurchinationes* of that *degulator*, Rufinus (75,29 f.)? "Charmed" she was indeed, but it was only with the magic of speech that he had charmed her.



## THE FIRST PHILOSOPHER OF THE WESTERN WORLD

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A curiously individual personality, standing out from the vague and shadowy portraits of his contemporaries, Thales commands our attention not only for his position as the father of western philosophy (the predecessors from whom he learned were Egyptian and Syrian) but as much for the breadth and variety of his practical interests.

One of the so-called Seven Wise Men of Greece, called by Stobaeus the first physical philosopher, Thales had an amazing familiarity with astronomy and geometry; he mixed in affairs of state; he even had a finger in military strategy; he possessed a rare financial acumen; and, what is even more amazing to find documented about one who comes so early in the historical sequence, he had a brilliant and ready wit.

He is said to have written two books *On the Solstice* and *On the Equinox*. As for his philosophical ideas, they seem to have been issued as inspired utterances but not to have been deemed worthy of composition. Concerning the astronomical treatises, we are told by Stobaeus<sup>1</sup> that Thales divided the heavens into five zones and drew through them an elliptic which he called the zodiac; and he also described the meridian. He attributed to the sun and moon the same shape as the earth, as well as the stars, which he said were full of fire.

That he put his knowledge of astronomy to practical use Herodotus bears witness,<sup>2</sup> when describing the war between Alyattes and Cyaxares:

And while they were engaged in a war on even terms, in the sixth year a fight took place in which it happened that, when the battle had been joined, day suddenly became night. And this change of day Thales the Milesian had

<sup>1</sup> *Ecl.* 23; Plutarch, *Epit.* II, 12.

<sup>2</sup> I, 74; cf. Pliny, *N.H.* II, 53.

foretold to the Ionians, setting as the limit this very year in which the change occurred.

Callimachus pictured him<sup>3</sup> in his Iambics as the discoverer of the Lesser Bear:

And he, men say, first learned the stars of the waggon  
By which Phoenicians sail.

At times he must have been thoroughly preoccupied with this interest in the heavens, for Plato says<sup>4</sup> that as he was looking upwards he "fell into a well, and a certain Thratta, a clever and charming slave-girl, is said to have jeered at him that he desired to see things in heaven but failed to see what was in front of him and at his feet."

His zeal in this subject can be paralleled by his zest for geometry. Diogenes quotes Pamphile as saying that Thales was the first to describe a right angle triangle within a circle, whereupon he rushed out and sacrificed an ox. Thales seems to have learned geometry from the Egyptians and to have been the first to introduce it to the Greeks. While in Egypt he is said to have measured the pyramids from their shadow, when both shadow and pyramid seemed equal in size.<sup>5</sup>

Another case in which he made practical use of his knowledge is narrated by Herodotus,<sup>6</sup> who says that when Croesus came to the Halys river, Thales the Milesian carried his army over:

When Croesus was at a loss as to how his army might cross the river, Thales, they say, who was present in the camp, made the river, which then flowed on the left side of the army, to flow also from the right. And he did it in this way: Beginning above the camp, he dug a deep channel, making it crescent shaped, so that the river, turned aside from its ancient stream into the canal, might flow along the rear of the camp which was there placed and again, after passing by the camp, might flow along its former course; so that as soon as the river was divided into two, it was possible to cross over both branches.

<sup>3</sup> Diogenes Laertius, I, 23. The translations in this paper are from a forthcoming edition of the Minor Greek Philosophers by A. D. Winspear, of the University of Wisconsin, and F. R. Kramer. <sup>4</sup> *Theaet.* 174 A; cf. Hippolytus, *Philos.*, I.

<sup>5</sup> Proclus, *Eucl.*, 65, 3. Ed. Friedlein (Eudemos, *Hist. of Geometry*, fr. 84, ed. Spengel).

<sup>6</sup> I, 75.

He seems to have had a hand in the Ionian confederacy, for according to Herodotus,<sup>7</sup>

before Ionia was destroyed, the advice of Thales . . . was also good. He advised the Ionians to establish one central government and that should be in Teos (for Teos was the center of Ionia); that the other cities should be inhabited none the less but regarded as though they were demes.

Thales' influence in affairs of state certainly seems to have been very highly regarded. Diogenes Laertius says:<sup>8</sup>

When Croesus sent to Miletus to negotiate an alliance, Thales put a stop to negotiations; this fact saved the city when Cyrus proved victorious.

That he was "not without honour in his own country" is also evident from the following incident. Some Ionian youths bought a cast from the net of some fishermen, and it contained, when drawn up, a tripod, which after much dispute was sent to Delphi. The god gave the following response:

Child of Miletus, you inquire of Phoebus concerning the tripod:  
To him who is foremost in wisdom, I say, of all men, the  
tripod belongs.

Thereupon it was given to Thales. He gave it to another, who passed it on again until it came to Solon, who said the god was first in wisdom and returned it to Delphi. According to the version of Callimachus, it was passed around until it came back to Thales a second time. Another version substitutes for the tripod a golden goblet sent to Croesus by one of his friends, to be given to the wisest of the Greeks. He gave it to Thales. Whatever the details of the story, Thales seems to have been the recipient of some important token in recognition of his wisdom.<sup>9</sup>

To Thales is attributed the authorship of the *γνῶθι σεαυτόν*, so recurrent in later Greek literature and thought. He defined happiness as belonging to "the man who is healthy in body, alert in spirit, and whose nature is easily taught."<sup>10</sup> Somewhat more flip-pantly at another time, when asked why he was grateful to fate, he gave three reasons: "First, that I was born a man and not a beast; second, that I am a man and not a woman; and third, that I am a Greek and not a barbarian."<sup>11</sup>

<sup>7</sup> I, 170.    <sup>8</sup> I, 25.    <sup>9</sup> Diogenes Laertius I, 27.    <sup>10</sup> *Ibid.* I, 36.    <sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 33.

Apparently he had a contempt for foolish or sententious questions—a contempt of just the kind to deal with the reporter of our day who comes stupid to an interview—and his wit often could not resist a neat riposte. When asked which came first, Night or Day, he replied: "Day—by one Night." On another occasion he remarked that death does not differ from life. "Why then," asked someone, "do you not die?" "Because," he answered, "It makes no difference."<sup>12</sup>

When someone impertinently asked him why he did not have children, he replied "*διὰ φιλοτεκνίαν*," "because I love children." Heraclides relates that Thales himself said that he lived a solitary individualistic life. But there is a report that he married and had a son Cybisthus. Others hold that he was unmarried, but adopted his sister's son. One narrative pictures his mother urging him to marry, whereupon he replied with an oath, "*οὐδέπω καιρός*," "it's too early"; later when she repeated her exhortation, he answered in the same pithy manner, "*οὐκέτι καιρός*," "it's too late."<sup>13</sup>

Perhaps he is the inspiration, if not the direct ancestor, of the modern Bull of the Stock Exchange. Aristotle relates that Thales was upbraided because of his poverty, which proved, said the upbraider, that philosophy was useless. Soon after this,

he foresaw, as a result of his observations of the heavens, that there would be a large crop of olives; and so, while it was still winter, he got together a little money and took an option on all the olive presses in Miletus and Chios. As there was no one to bid against him, the price he paid was very low. When the season of harvest came, there was a universal and sudden demand so that, renting them out on his own terms, he made a great deal of money and proved that it is easy for philosophers to be rich, if they wish to do so, but it is not to money-making that they devote themselves.<sup>14</sup>

Space does not permit a discussion of all his philosophical theories. His main contribution is, of course, the theory of water as the cosmogenetic principle. Plutarch says<sup>15</sup> that

he made this inference from the following facts: First, that the seed, which is the beginning of all living creatures, is moist, and so it is probable that all

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.* I, 36.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.* I, 25.

<sup>14</sup> Aristotle, *Pol. A.*, XI, Epiphani *Advers. Haeres.* 1259 A 6.

<sup>15</sup> *Epit.* I, 3; Epiphani *Advers. Haeres.* XIV, 14, 1 (Diels, *Dox.*, 276).

things should take their beginning from moisture. Second, that plants are nourished and made to bear fruit by moisture, but when they lack moisture they wither away. Third, that even the fire of the sun and stars, as well as the world itself, is fed by the vapours of water.

Plutarch considered this an echo of the Homeric line "Ocean, which is the beginning of all things." Thales seems to have made no distinction between primary all-pervasive matter and the all-pervading spirit, or gods, so that it is difficult to determine whether we should describe him as a pantheist or a panhylist. He is also famous for his saying, "Necessity is mightiest because it controls everything,"<sup>16</sup> thus adumbrating a theory of universal causation. Plutarch says that the Ionic school of philosophy was named for Thales.<sup>17</sup>

He also faintly foreshadowed the atomic theory, for he thought that bodies were infinitely divisible.<sup>18</sup> Theodoretus suggests<sup>19</sup> that he contributed to the Stoic tradition the conception that matter is subject to variability, change, and flux.

Thales died at a ripe old age<sup>20</sup> "with his boots on," as the saying goes. It was typical that he was so interested in everyday affairs that he did not even recognize that his end was near. His death came while he was looking on at a gymnastic contest, and Suidas records<sup>21</sup> that "he was crushed by the crowd and overcome by the heat."

<sup>16</sup> *Loc. cit.*, cf. *Galen Hist. Philos.* 3 (Diels, *Dox.*, 599).

<sup>17</sup> Stobaeus, *Ecl.* I, 47; Plutarch, *Epit.*, I, 25.

<sup>18</sup> Stobaeus, *Ecl.* I, 11; *Aet.* I, 9. <sup>19</sup> *rv*, 13.

<sup>20</sup> Diogenes Laertius (I, 36) says at 72 years of age; Sosicrates said 90.

<sup>21</sup> 42-47; cf. Diogenes Laertius I. 39.

## ROMAN DINNERS AND DINERS

By WINNIE D. LOWRANCE  
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### *The Silver Saltcellar*

Two essentials of Roman table equipment were a *patella* or plate for meal, and a *salinum* or saltcellar—to hold salt and meal for the offering to the Gods. Our most recent handbook on Roman private life has the following to say on the saltcellar:

In its most pretentious form it was of silver and an heirloom. This is the kind which Horace has in mind when he describes the happy man as one "whose easy slumbers are not broken by fear or sordid greed, and on whose simple table gleams the *salinum*." This seems to mean that even the poor possessed the silver *salinum* as a matter of pride.<sup>1</sup>

Another handbook says, "A silver saltcellar was often the cherished ornament of the humblest board."<sup>2</sup>

The note of Ellis on Catullus 23, 19, *purior salillo* is typical of editorial comment on the subject. "The Romans made it a point of honor to keep the saltcellar, which was generally of silver and transmitted as an heirloom from sire to son, clean and bright."<sup>3</sup>

The poverty of the Romans even in the time of the Punic Wars was proverbial. We are all familiar with the delightful story from Pliny<sup>4</sup> of the Carthaginian ambassadors who said that wherever they dined at Rome, they met the same silver plate.

In contrasting the luxury and extravagance of his own time with the simplicity of an earlier age, Pliny recalls that Fabricius (third century B.C.), would allow no general of his army to have any other plate than a *patera* and a saltcellar of silver. Italy is not a country rich in the precious metals. Nowhere can I find a mention of silver

<sup>1</sup> Horace, *Carm.* II, 16, 14.

<sup>2</sup> Showerman, Grant, *Rome and the Romans*: New York, Macmillan and Co. (1931), 133 f.

<sup>3</sup> Ellis, R., *Catullus*<sup>2</sup>: Oxford. (1869).

<sup>4</sup> *N.H.* XXXIII, 50.



being found there. At the time of the sack of Rome by the Gauls in 389 B.C. only one thousand pounds weight of gold could be got together from all sources to pay the ransom. When Camillus providentially appeared, this was saved and became the nucleus for the treasure kept in the Capitol against a second such contingency. It had grown to two thousand pounds weight when it disappeared in Pompey's third consulship. The supply of silver was doubtless proportionate to that of gold. There was no great quantity of silver until the conquest of Campania, the overthrow of Pyrrhus, and the capture of Tarentum, 272 B.C. Gaius tells us<sup>5</sup> that there were no gold or silver coins in use in the time of the Twelve Tables, and Pliny tells us<sup>6</sup> that silver coins were first issued at Rome in 268 B.C. and gold ones in 206 B.C. The conquest of Spain in 206 B.C. brought the Cartagena silver mines within Rome's domain. According to Polybius<sup>7</sup> about 40,000 men worked there and a net profit of 25,000 drachmae (\$5,000) a day was obtained. Syria, Macedonia, Carthage, Corinth, Provence, and Asia Minor, the last especially during the Mithridatic campaigns, supplied Rome with precious metals. Tacitus says<sup>8</sup> that the battle of Actium marks the beginning of the great epoch of luxury at Rome, when commerce, flourishing with universal peace, was extended by way of Alexandria to India and Asia. At last Rome became a city into which poured the trade of all the world, year in and year out, bringing "what every people produced and made."

Pliny the elder has a lot to say about silver,<sup>9</sup> and though his statements seem too exaggerated to be of value, they plainly show its extensive use. Soldiers had silver sword hilts and belts, and silver chains on scabbards, even poor women wore silver anklets, and silver mirrors were common. At Pompeii after the eruption the inhabitants carried away all the valuables they could, but even the earlier excavations brought to light over one hundred silver dishes. In 1894 the Villa Boscoreale near Pompeii yielded ninety-seven silver articles, ninety being for the table.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>5</sup> I, 122.

<sup>6</sup> N.H. xxxiii, 13.

<sup>7</sup> xxxiv, 9.

<sup>8</sup> Ann. iii, 55.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. N.H. xxxiii, 31 and 44-55.

<sup>10</sup> Friedlander, L., *Roman Life and Manners under the Early Empire*, Tr. by Freese: New York, Dutton, ii, 210.

The earliest instance of a silver saltcellar is that in the story of Fabricius above. Livy tells us<sup>11</sup> that when a call was made for private contributions to the Roman war chest in the Second Punic War, it was decreed, among other things, that those who had held a curule office might retain for their own use, "of silver, the ornaments of a horse and a pound weight of silver that they might have a saltcellar and a dish for the worship of the gods." Both of these instances allude to people of the higher classes, generals in the army and office holders at home—people who had some means.

Of the three passages in Horace where a salt-dish is mentioned, the first is in *Carm* II, 16, 13 f.:

*Vivitur parvo bene cui paternum  
Splendet in mensa tenui salinum.*

"He lives well on a little on whose frugal board shines an ancestral salt-dish." Here the word *splendet* seems to point to silver. The other two clearly indicate a much more humble type. In *Sat.* I, 3, 14 we read:

*sit mihi mensa tripes et  
concha salis puri et toga quae defendere frigus,  
quamvis crassa, queat.*

*Concha* means a shell. Porphyrio remarks on this passage that the poorer classes were wont to keep their salt in a sea shell. It may be doubted whether *concha* necessarily meant an actual shell. The modesty of the requirement lies in the short list of his needs: a table, a vessel which will hold its salt and keep it clean. Acron another scholiast says that *concha* is put *pro quocumque vase fictile mensae pauperis*. When Horace describes the simple manner in which he himself lives in *Sat.* I, 6, 116–118, he says, "My supper is served by three slaves, and a white stone slab supports two cups with a ladle. By them stand a cheap saltcellar (*echinus*), a jug, and a saucer of Campanian ware." The *echinus* was the shell of a sea-urchin, and the *Thesaurus* gives this as the only instance of its use in the sense of a salt-dish. Such humble containers are mentioned in later and more extravagant times. Statius, when writing to his friend Rutilius Gallicus upon his recovery from an illness,

<sup>11</sup> xxvi, 36, 6.

remarks,<sup>12</sup> "Yet amid such offerings, a simple turf, some meal, and a humble saltcellar (*exiguo salino*) have oftimes pleased the gods," and Juvenal<sup>13</sup> in inveighing against the vulgar display of his day, recalls the earthenware bowls and the black pots of Numa and his brittle plates of Vatican clay, used in the worship of the gods.

Surely we are safe in saying that silver saltcellars could not have been common among even the well-to-do before 250 B.C. and perhaps not numerous until after the Punic Wars. I am extremely doubtful that they were ever common among the really poor.

#### *Ab Ovo ad Mala*

Horace seems to be solely responsible for the neat phrase *ab ovo ad mala* (*Sat.* I, 3, 6 f.) which has been accepted as the rule for Roman dinners. It is as true as most generalizations. Like that on other private customs, information on the menus of the Romans is scant and incidental. The scholiasts on this passage say, of course, that it means "from the beginning to the end of the dinner. For the egg is today [third or fifth century] the beginning of the dinner, while, among other things, by way of dessert the ancients offered apples." Cicero however, says in a letter:<sup>14</sup> *integram famem ad ovum adfero*, meaning that he was still hungry when he came to the eggs. The context suggests that this was not the first course.

The first part of the Roman dinner was the *gustus* or *gustatio*, which one translator of Martial calls the "whet." It is to the *gustus* that Horace refers in *ab ovo*. Some menus we do have for Macrobius<sup>15</sup> in describing a dinner gives us part of the bill of fare. This dinner which he calls *vetustissima* took place between 73 and 63 B.C. and Macrobius quotes from Metellus a pontifex. The *gustus* consisted of sea urchins, raw oysters, sea mussels (three kinds), thrushes with asparagus, a fat hen, panned oysters, and mussels; second, mussels again, shell-fish, sea nettles, figpeckers, goat's loin, pork, chicken, figpeckers again, and two kinds of sea snails. There is no mention of eggs even as a garnish. We are not concerned with the *cena* proper, and Macrobius does not mention the dessert.

<sup>12</sup> I, 4, 130.

<sup>13</sup> *Sat.* VI, 343 f.

<sup>14</sup> *Ad Fam.* IX, 20.

<sup>15</sup> *Sat.* II, 13, 12.

In the repast which Baucis and Philemon served to their unexpected guests eggs seem to have served not as the *gustus* but as the main dish, as the foods are given in this order: cabbage, bacon, green and ripe olives, cornel cherries in wine lees, endive, radishes, cream cheese, and eggs roasted in warm ashes. For dessert apples<sup>16</sup> are mentioned along with nuts, figs, dates, plums, purple grapes, and honey.

The rules for good dining recited by Catius to his friend Horace<sup>17</sup> follow in the main the order of the courses of a Roman dinner. Here eggs are given first place, and apples are listed first among the fruits served for dessert. At the elaborate dinner of Nasidienus<sup>18</sup> wild boar appears first, surrounded by turnips, lettuce, radishes, skirret, fish pickle and Coan lees. Unfortunately the guests didn't wait for the dessert. Pliny remarks<sup>19</sup> that wild boar with relishes as a first course was a mark of extravagant luxury.

Martial's mind frequently ran on food, perhaps because he lived in a day of extravagance in that particular and was himself poor. Ostentation in food or dining has ever been the favorite mark for the shafts of the satirist. Describing a dinner<sup>20</sup> which he is going to serve to a friend he says: "My bailiff's wife has brought me mallows that will unload the stomach, and the various wealth the garden bears, amongst which squat lettuce and clipped leek and flatulent mint are not wanting nor the salacious herb: sliced egg shall garnish the lizard fish served with rue." This is the *gustus*. Later he says: "When you have had your fill I shall give you ripe apples, wine without lees." This is a menu made to fit Horace's prescription save that the eggs do not appear prominently. On another menu<sup>21</sup> given by the same author, one finds lettuce, shoots of leek, salted tunny garnished with eggs and rue, other eggs roasted, cheese, and olives. Lettuce seems to have been the first dish offered in Martial's day, for in another place<sup>22</sup> he inquires, "why is it that lettuce which used to end our grandsires' dinner ushers in our banquets?"

<sup>16</sup> *Pomum*, apple, was used by the Romans to include other fruits—cherries, figs, dates, plums, etc.

<sup>17</sup> *Sat.* II, 4.

<sup>18</sup> Horace, *Sat.* II, 8.

<sup>19</sup> *N.H.* VIII, 210.

<sup>20</sup> Martial x, 48, 7 f.

<sup>21</sup> *Id.*, XI, 52.

<sup>22</sup> *Id.*, XIII, 14.

In the long list of food served at Trimalchio's dinner<sup>23</sup> eggs do not appear among the hors-d'œuvres, but afterwards, at the end there was a cheese mellowed in new wine, followed by snails, tripe, liver, eggs, turnips, mustard, and last, pickled olives. The last course consisted of thrushes stuffed with raisins and nuts, quinces, oysters, and snails on a silver gridiron, but no apples. Even though this dinner was only a figment of Petronius' imagination and this particular combination may never have appeared on any man's table, still the foods were those served at Rome in his day.

Juvenal gives us<sup>24</sup> a simple dinner: asparagus and eggs, for the *gustus* and for dessert fruits. In like fashion an Italian restaurant today in this country will give you a bowl of fruit for dessert.

In conclusion we may say that *ab ovo ad mala* is as true as any such phrase could be in describing so varied a thing as a Roman dinner. Eggs were eaten often, though surely not invariably, and apples in season doubtless appeared among the fruits.

<sup>23</sup> Petronius, *Cena Trimalchionis*, *passim*.

<sup>24</sup> *Sat.* xi, 64-76.

## CLASSICAL INFLUENCES ON THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

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From the American struggle for independence to the classical world and its writings is indeed a far cry. That a few thousand colonists living in a frontier society should have appealed to Greece and Rome against the British Parliament seems almost absurd. Yet, although the struggle originated, as is well known, in widely diverse economic, geographical, political, religious, and social discontents, mere dissatisfaction with the existing conditions was not of itself sufficient to have brought on revolution. The colonists had to fuse their various discontents into an effective platform and to focus them by a convincing ideology. In order to give meaning to their aims the colonists likewise had to proclaim the admirable nature of what they sought and to seek precedents for so proclaiming it. These needs led to the combing of two thousand years of history; and as a result Greek and Roman elements were found which contributed to the formulation of the ideology by which the colonists justified their opposition to British policy and their claim to greater freedom.

Although it would be far too much to say that every orator who held forth on the village green or every agitator who fired his rhetorical broadsides in print possessed either abundant or profound knowledge of classical authors, it is nevertheless quite clear that the most important leaders of colonial opinion used a large number and a wide assortment of classical allusions to bolster their claims. In view of the character of eighteenth-century education this is not altogether surprising, yet a somewhat closer examination of the matter seems quite in order. History, philosophy, and poetry alike provided welcome and, what was better, irreproachable support for American contentions, in principle if not



in concrete application. In the pages that follow—although no attempt will be made to list every citation, a practice which would be needlessly repetitious—it is proposed to point out what classical authors were used by the colonists in their pre-military efforts to secure an improved status, and to indicate what purposes inspired references to authors who in American eyes vindicated ideals so much in harmony with nature and reason.

In the course of a rather intensive and exhaustive examination of American revolutionary literature the writer has discovered references to the following classical authors: Homer, Sophocles, Plato, Euripides, Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, Aristotle, Strabo, Lucian, Dio, Polybius, Plutarch, and Epictetus, among the Greeks; and Cicero, Horace, Vergil, Tacitus, Lucan, Seneca, Livy, Nepos, Sallust, Ovid, Lucretius, Cato, Pliny, Juvenal, Curtius, Marcus Aurelius, Petronius, Suetonius, Caesar, the lawyers Ulpian and Gaius, and Justinian, among the Romans.<sup>1</sup> In addition, certain classical figures such as Demosthenes, Tiberius Gracchus, and Brutus were held up as ideals whereby the American course might be guided. While many of the writers mentioned contributed little or nothing to the creation of the revolutionary spirit, some had scarcely less influence than such favored English authors as John Locke or Algernon Sidney. Furthermore, to substantiate their case, the colonists used not only the ideas of classical writers but also parallels from the history of Greece and Rome, culled from ancient as well as contemporary historians.

<sup>1</sup> For rather complete and concrete information as to what books were available to the colonists see Thomas Jefferson's *Commonplace Book: a Repertory of his Ideas on Government* (ed. by G. Chinard): Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press (1926), and the catalogue of the Bowdoin library published in the *Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings*: Boston (1918), II, 362-368. John Dickinson of Pennsylvania seems to have derived part of his classical knowledge from Joannes Stobaeus, who probably belonged to the fifth or sixth century A.D. Stobaeus quoted over five hundred writers of various kinds, his own works being divided into four books, of which one dealt with physics and most of the remainder with ethics and politics. In his "Essay on the Constitutional Power of Great Britain over the Colonies in America" (1774), *Pennsylvania Archives*: Harrisburg (1890), 2 ser., III, 492 n., Dickinson attributes to Stobaeus the doctrine that justice is "the parent and nourisher of every other virtue," citing the third edition of Gesner, Tiguri (1559). I have seen no other colonial reference to this repository of ancient philosophy and theology.

These sources contributed some principles of political philosophy, varied materials from Greek or Roman history to prove or to illustrate a point, and window-dressing with which to ornament a page or a speech and to increase the weight of an argument. Such prominent colonial leaders as John Adams, Josiah Quincy, and John Dickinson, all ardent disciples of the classics, continually manifested their dependence upon "ancient authors"; and other individuals, no less prominent, reflected a similar if not so constant a capacity for justifying both their arguments and their actions by appeals to what were then regarded as unimpeachable authorities. Some writers expressed their indebtedness to classical authors and events by parading their citations, while others, especially men of the stamp of Richard Bland, Jefferson, and Franklin, bore their learning lightly and made their reading implicit in their thought rather than an erudite robing for their convictions.<sup>2</sup> But whatever the form of their expression, it was an obscure pamphleteer indeed who could not muster at least one classical analogy or one ancient precept.

In the realm of political ideas, the colonial agitator used classical sources to prove both the existence and the validity of a law superior to all positive law, and to laud again and again the high value of individual freedom. From this he went on to make clear beyond possibility of contradiction the essential justice of his cause. This higher law, known variously as the law of God, natural law, reason, or merely as *law*, was, short of war, the colonists' last resort.<sup>3</sup> When the English constitution with its emphasis on the rights of Englishmen failed to provide adequate

<sup>2</sup> James Duane of New York, a prominent member of the first Continental Congress, told John Adams (*The Works of John Adams*: Boston, Little, Brown and Co. [1856], II, 430, that Jefferson was "the greatest rubber off of dust that he had ever met with." See also Gilbert Chinard, *Thomas Jefferson, Apostle of Americanism*: Boston, Little, Brown and Co. (1929), VII: Jefferson's "masters were the Greeks of old, Homer and Euripides, then Cicero and Horace . . ." Bland, an older man and dean of the Virginia *philosophes*, was even more famous in his own day as a classical scholar.

<sup>3</sup> On this point cf. B. F. Wright, Jr., *American Interpretations of Natural Law*: Cambridge, Harvard University Press (1931), chapters I-IV; C. G. Haines, *The Revival of Natural Law Concepts*: Cambridge, Harvard University Press (1930), chapters I-III; Charles F. Mullett, *Fundamental Law and the American Revolution, 1760-1776*: New York, Columbia University Press (1933), *passim*.

succor, the colonial radicals turned to a law which transcended all human contrivances. On this foundation they erected their verbal and literary opposition to "taxation without representation," to the quartering of troops on the civilian population, to deprivation of trial by jury, and finally to general parliamentary authority over the colonies. Even though the letter of the classics could hardly supply much concrete aid in these particulars, the colonial pamphleteers could always appeal to the spirit of ancient writers. Moreover, when the colonists, in addition to employing fundamental law in defense of their rights, also invoked it to justify such abstract ideals as freedom and equality, they could easily vindicate their position by reference to the distant past. Whether used in the indicative sense of Greek philosophy or in the imperative sense of Roman law, the concept of a higher law imparted no small dignity to colonial pleas for more self-government.

The details of classical history, not less than the political ideals of the Greeks and Romans, provided the colonists with many fruitful aids. For example, James Otis and John Adams agreed that the relation between the Greek mother city and her colonies was ideal, and they wished to see the British colonies in America owe nothing but reverence to Great Britain.<sup>4</sup> Neither man wished for complete independence but rather for a connection by the "silken ties" of patriotic loyalty that bind the more for being less burdensome. In this they anticipated Gladstone, who also derived his theory of imperial relations in part from Greek origins. Otis, however, feared that the British Empire was following what he considered the brutal example of Roman imperialism instead of the humanitarian ideal of Greece. John Adams, on the other hand, held that even Rome gave her colonists equal rights with her own citizens and cited in support of this contention the case of the

<sup>4</sup> James Otis, *The Rights of the British Colonies Asserted and Proved*: Boston (1764), 26 f. *A Vindication of the British Colonies*: London (1769), 31; *Works of John Adams*, iv, 102-104. See also "Stamp Act Papers," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, vi (1911), 294: "It was Lenity, Humanity & Magnanimity that did more to preserve to Rome the Roman Colonies secure and dependent than all the Legions she ever was Mistress of or cou'd at any Time command." Otis, incidentally, was the author of *The Rudiments of Greek Prosody* and *The Rudiments of Latin Prosody*.

*Privernates* who had even revolted against the Roman dominion, an item also used by John Dickinson to substantiate his petition for enlightened government of colonies.<sup>5</sup> But this was only one sample of the historical ammunition with which, by judicious choice, these and other pamphleteers bombarded British colonial policy.

Although some writers picked out the achievements of Solon and Demosthenes in obstructing the course of tyranny, it was Rome that supplied the most telling examples. All in all, most of these pamphleteers derived the bulk of their knowledge of Roman history mediately or immediately from Plutarch and Tacitus, with some help from Livy and Polybius, and in consequence they conceived of themselves as the analogues of the farmer-republicans who sought to prevent the establishment of Caesarism. Josiah Quincy, whose *Observations on the Boston Port Bill* abounded in classical allusions, revered Cicero not only for his political ideas, but also as "the best of men and the first of patriots," who warned his fellow-citizens against that "complaisant courtier," Caesar. Moreover, the denouncer of Catiline earned a high niche in the patriotic hall of fame by the manner of his death, which proved him a martyr to the loftiest republican ideals. Caesar was stigmatized as a tyrant who destroyed the liberty that was Rome's glory and grandeur and paved the way for those "monsters," Tiberius and Nero.<sup>6</sup>

Scarcely less admired as personalities were Brutus and Cassius, for, like Cicero, they were credited with having patriotically attempted to prevent the disastrous consummation of Caesar's rise to power. William Livingston strongly urged his son to be "very complaisant" to the ghost of Brutus.<sup>7</sup> That interesting soldier of fortune and pamphleteer, General Charles Lee, found in the character of Brutus at least one explanation why the love of

<sup>5</sup> "Essay on the Constitutional Power," *loc. cit.*, 502. Both John Adams and Dickinson drew their account from Livy.

<sup>6</sup> Josiah Quincy, *Memoir of the Life of Josiah Quincy Jun. of Massachusetts*: Boston (1825), 398 f., 418-20; Otis, *The Rights of the British Colonies*, 15, 64.

<sup>7</sup> Theodore Sedgwick, *A Memoir of the Life of William Livingston*: New York (1833), 148.

liberty burned so brightly in his own bosom.<sup>8</sup> And many other patriots looked to the same inspiration and drew the obvious parallel with their own day. Patrick Henry's phrase, "Caesar had his Brutus," is only better known but not more suggestive than Josiah Quincy's question, "Is not Britain to America what Caesar was to Rome?"<sup>9</sup>

Of a piece with the reverence for Roman republicanism and the hatred for Caesar was the violent arraignment of the deification of the Roman emperors and the ultimate transition to an empire built on military power; for both, it was felt, characterized arbitrary government. British quartering of troops on the colonists, along with other so-called arbitrary acts, was compared to the rise of military despotism in Rome, and various writers declared that the threat of the sword to law and liberty had been constantly revealed by Roman history.<sup>10</sup> The republican constitution of Rome was steadily praised, James Otis observing that those states had made the greatest figure and had been most durable when the power had been separated and in the hands of more than one or a few. Rome fell, he explained, when its constitution failed to secure a perfect separation of powers, although the partial separation did contribute to the comparatively long life of the empire.<sup>11</sup> The ancient military tyrannies were, of course, completely beyond the pale.

The window-dressing value of classical writers and incidents, while more superficial than the political ideas and the historical analogies, was not to be scorned as merely ornamental. Numerous Latin tags and an occasional Greek epigram seemed to eighteenth-century orators and publicists the essential adjuncts of their arguments. Therefore men like Quincy or Dickinson or Otis seldom failed to clinch their contentions with a quotation from an impeccable classical author. When John Dickinson could quote Vergil, *Discite justitiam moniti & [sic] non temnere divos* to his purpose

<sup>8</sup> *The Lee Papers*: New York, New York Historical Society (1871), I, 149. For further evidence of the influence of Brutus see Quincy, *Memoir*, 159, 468 f.; and Carl Becker, *The Eve of the Revolution*: New Haven, Yale University Press (1921), 178.

<sup>9</sup> *Memoir*, 435.

<sup>10</sup> Otis, *The Rights of the British Colonies*, 10; Quincy, *Memoir*, 407, 415 f., 428.

<sup>11</sup> Otis, *The Rights of the British Colonies*, 14.



he had given both flavor and authenticity to his argument and his conclusions.<sup>12</sup> Furthermore, scarcely a pamphlet failed to boast a Latin couplet on its title page. Such practices demonstrated at once that the American colonists were not barbarians, and that Cicero and Tacitus and even Plato had anticipated their present dilemma, because that dilemma was part and parcel of the eternal and unavoidable problem of politics, liberty versus authority.

Having surveyed the general characteristics of classical influence on the American revolutionaries, it is now desirable to refer specifically to the authors who carried the greatest weight and to give some hints concerning the nature of their legacy. Rather interestingly, the writers held in the highest esteem were the oligarchs, a group which in any age is most apt to stress the supreme importance of personal liberty. Indeed, excellent evidence that the majority of the colonial leaders were no full-fledged democrats can be found in the prophets to whom they appealed and the saints to whom they gave their greatest intellectual homage. These leaders, on the whole, conceived liberty as an ordered and somewhat restricted heritage to be enjoyed only by those intellectually capable of appreciating its true worth. Hence the heroes of Plutarch became the heroes of the revolutionary leaders.

Of the Greeks only Sophocles, Thucydides, Plato, Aristotle, Polybius, and Plutarch were invoked to sustain expressly the revolutionary stand, although no doubt other Hellenic writers helped to shape the colonial mind along these lines. It should perhaps be noted also that Polybius in a sense belongs properly to the Roman group inasmuch as his bequest to the American colonists took the form of Roman history, and likewise that Plutarch's *Roman Lives* were much more frequently cited than his *Greek Lives*. In fact, Aristotle alone among the Greeks had an appeal comparable to any one of three or four Roman contributors.

Some lines from Sophocles's *Antigone* enabled John Dickinson to point the moral inherent in the danger of violating the immutable laws of nature:<sup>13</sup>

<sup>12</sup> *Loc. cit.*, 535. The Vergilian line is *Aen.* VI, 620.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 534. Frank translation. In the Loeb edition these are vss. 453-457.

I could never think  
A mortal's law of power or strength sufficient  
To abrogate the unwritten law divine,  
Immutable, eternal, not like these  
Of yesterday, but made e'er time began.

So magnificent a tribute to higher law could not go unremarked and other colonial writers paid Sophocles the compliment of referring to him, although without direct quotation. Thucydides supplied a knowledge of Greek history illuminated with a lofty political idealism.<sup>14</sup> Plato reached only a limited number and even these may not have read more than a few snatches. John Adams, for instance, informed the author of the *Massachusettensis Letters* in 1774 that the principles of self-government, natural equality, and the responsibility of the rulers to the ruled were the "principles of Aristotle and Plato, of Livy and Cicero."<sup>15</sup> Yet in after years, when carrying on a lengthy correspondence with Thomas Jefferson, he admitted that on really going into Plato's writings "my disappointment was very great, my astonishment was greater, and my disgust shocking." Jefferson likewise deplored "the whimsies, puerilities, and unintelligible jargon" of the dialogues and questioned Cicero's judgment in praising them so highly. So these two old rivals, who could agree on very little else, were equally and mutually puzzled that Plato could have made such a stir and that a person as acute as Benjamin Franklin could have seen so much in him.<sup>16</sup> Yet anyone familiar in some degree with Plato's political dialogues can readily smile at the conception of Plato as an architect of "revolution principles." On the other hand, however incongruous it may seem, Oxenbridge Thacher and Jonathan Mayhew credited Plato with having aided in the formation of their ideas, which, to say the least, were aggressively revolutionary.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Cf. *Works of John Adams*, II, 7; Otis, *The Rights of the British Colonies*, 26.

<sup>15</sup> *Works*, IV, 15.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, x, 102 f.; *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson*: New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons (1892), IX, 463.

<sup>17</sup> Oxenbridge Thacher, *The Sentiments of a British American*: Boston (1764); John W. Thornton, *The Pulpit of the American Revolution*: Boston (1860), 46. Mayhew spoke of his having been initiated in his youth "in the doctrines of civil liberty, as they were taught by such men as Plato, Demosthenes, Cicero, and other renowned persons among the ancients."

Aristotle, though not by any means a democrat, had spoken so specifically concerning the law of God and nature which was superior to all human enactment that he proved a steady aid to Americans engaged in protesting against acts of Parliament as contraventions of nature, reason, and justice. While John Adams and others came later to criticize Aristotle's theory of citizenship, they did not quarrel with his political ideals when they eagerly adduced the greatest names in defense of their position. Aristotle's natural *inequality* of men could be overlooked in view of his insistence on the rule of law and that he who bids the law rule might be deemed to bid God and reason rule.<sup>18</sup>

Polybius obviously accepted the ideals of Plato and Aristotle as applied to political action, but he was more concerned with behavior than with ideas, and the very few colonists who knew him found his history more useful for illustrative than for philosophic materials. In this respect, however, his description of the Roman constitution at the time of the battle of Cannae aroused some homage and in all likelihood contributed to the high value placed on separation of powers as a basis of stable government.<sup>19</sup> Plutarch was much more highly regarded, if judgment may be based on the number of references. His *Lives* furnished the colonists with both facts and inferences in abundance concerning the evils of arbitrary power and the glory of opposing tyranny. It would indeed be difficult to say whether the history or the moralizing of this writer gave the colonists the greater satisfaction.<sup>20</sup>

Of the Romans, Cicero and Tacitus took first place in colonial idealization, although a considerable number of others afforded additional ballast to the revolutionary contentions. With a few noteworthy exceptions the most admired Roman contributors

<sup>18</sup> *Works of John Adams*, iv, 106, 435-463, 469-478.

<sup>19</sup> Otis, *The Rights of the British Colonies*, 14.

<sup>20</sup> Quincy, *Memoir*, 367; *The Writings of Benjamin Franklin* (Smyth ed.): New York, Macmillan Co. (1907), i, 238. Carl Becker sums up the situation admirably (*Everyman his own Historian*: New York, F. S. Crofts and Co. [1935], 49) when in his essay, "The Spirit of '76," put forward as an eighteenth-century sketch of one Jeremiah Wynkoop, he allows his imaginary author to say: "In college we all read the standard Greek and Roman writers. . . . The *Parallel Lives* of Plutarch he [Wynkoop] knew almost by heart, and was never weary of descanting on the austere morality and virtuous republicanism of those heroic times. For Jeremiah a kind of golden age was pictured there, a lost world which forever disappeared when Caesar crossed the Rubicon."

lived in the days of the *Republic* or adhered to the republican creed. Seneca and Lucan, Sallust and Livy were venerated for their devotion to the highest republican and ethical principles. Cato personified the farmer-republican ideal so prized by several pamphleteers, including John Dickinson, the author of the *Letters of Fabius*, who gloried in the title of "Pennsylvania Cincinnatus."<sup>21</sup>

A few other such figures were honored by an occasional reference. Horace, Ovid, and Juvenal supplied a convenient phrase here and there. Vergil, one of the two classical authors actually read by Patrick Henry—the other being Livy—supported John Dickinson's eulogy of immutable laws and also found favor with John Adams.<sup>22</sup> Marcus Aurelius and the Roman lawyers came in for reverential attention, the first because he typified the philosopher-king, and the second because their judgments yielded a few nuggets of political philosophy useful to the more learned colonists who opposed parliamentary pretensions.<sup>23</sup> Finally, in a quite different sense Lucretius enjoyed some repute because he had anticipated what Isaac Newton seemed to have confirmed, namely, the conception of the universe as an expression of natural law.<sup>24</sup> And natural law, whatever its application, was a most important ingredient in the thinking of eighteenth-century publicists.

Notwithstanding the attention these men received, however, Cicero and Tacitus, as remarked above, won the highest devotion and attained the most frequent mention in colonial tracts, speeches, and correspondence. Cicero was eulogized both as a patriot who opposed efforts to overturn the republic and as a political philosopher. His philosophy, derived largely from Greek sources, resembled that of Aristotle in emphasizing the reasonable nature of true law, which came ultimately from God and which

<sup>21</sup> Cf. *Works of John Adams*, II, 175; Andrew Eliot, *A Sermon preached before His Excellency Francis Bernard, Esq.*: Boston (1765), 25, 30; John Drayton, *Memoirs of the American Revolution, as relating to the State of South Carolina*: Charleston (1821), I, 185.

<sup>22</sup> *Works of John Adams*, II, 222, 396; Dickinson, *loc. cit.*, 535.

<sup>23</sup> *Works of John Adams*, II, 36, 48, 59; Roy J. Honeywell, *The Educational Work of Thomas Jefferson*: Cambridge, Harvard University Press (1931), 217-221; Jefferson's *Commonplace Book*.

<sup>24</sup> Carl Becker, *The Declaration of Independence*: New York, Harcourt, Brace and Co. (1922), 40-53.

transcended mere positive law. Most frequently cited was Cicero's definition of law as "the highest reason, instituted in nature, which orders what should be done and prohibits the contrary."<sup>25</sup> John Dickinson recalled Cicero's warnings against arbitrary government. Jefferson printed as a sort of preface to his famous tract, *A Summary View of the Rights of British America*, that sentence from *De Officiis* wherein Cicero declared that it was "the indispensable duty of the supreme magistrate to consider himself as acting for the whole community, and obliged to support its dignity, and assign to the people with justice their various rights, as he would be faithful to the great trust reposed in him."<sup>26</sup> Finally, to mention but one further sample, in Cicero Arthur Lee of Virginia discovered an authority for the principle that whatever is one's own cannot be taken away but by consent, given either in person or through a legal representative.<sup>27</sup>

Tacitus, less diverse in his legacy, was not less highly valued. Indeed, for some Americans he stood with John Locke. Josiah Quincy indicated a widely held esteem when he provided in his will that his son should receive the works of Tacitus along with those of Locke and Algernon Sidney. With such a bequest, the son, it was felt, would be well informed in the spirit of liberty. The "elegant and instructive" history written in a "masterly" style with a purpose not less didactic than informational supplied many a text for sermons, lay as well as religious, against arbitrary government.<sup>28</sup> Regarded as an "excellent historian and statesman," Tacitus tended to confirm Americans in their fear and hatred of imperial government and in their conviction concerning the essential virtues of frontier, agrarian society.

The Tacitean denunciation of Roman decadence and the contrasting eulogy of Teutonic freedom were readily translated by the colonists into blasts against English society, which at the same time were impregnated with a faintly Pharisaical admission of

<sup>25</sup> *De Legibus* I, 6, 18.

<sup>26</sup> *De Officiis* I, 34, 124.

<sup>27</sup> Dickinson, *loc. cit.*, 519; Jefferson, *Writings*, I, 428; Lee, *An Appeal to the Justice and Interests of the People of Great Britain in the Present Disputes with America*: London (1774), 4 f. Dickinson also cited a "beautiful passage" from Cicero (*De Re Publica* VI, 13, 13) to the effect that "Nothing is more agreeable to the supreme Deity that governs this universe than civil societies lawfully established." *Loc. cit.*, 479 n.

<sup>28</sup> Quincy, *Memoir*, 350, 407, 415 f.



their own rectitude. "When a people get a taste for the fine arts, they are ruined," said Isaac Barre to Quincy who, with Rome in mind, appeared to concur in the opinion.<sup>29</sup> William Hooper of North Carolina, among the first to anticipate the independence of America, was much more outspoken, comparing Great Britain in 1774 with Rome in its decline, which "from being the nursery of heroes, became the residence of musicians, pimps, panders and catamites."<sup>30</sup>

Notwithstanding these derogatory, even eschatological, judgments, and the moral inherent in them, the ancient world and its works and personalities were in general highly esteemed. To the mind of the colonists Lord Chatham could receive no finer compliment than that paid him by Josiah Quincy after the latter had seen and heard him denounce in Parliament the imperial policy of taxing America.<sup>31</sup> He

rose like Marcellus—*Viros supereminet omnes* . . . He seemed like an old Roman senator, rising with the dignity of age, yet speaking with the fire of youth. The illustrious sage stretched forth his hand with the decent solemnity of Paul, and rising with his subject, he smote his breast with the energy and grace of Demosthenes.

Indeed this form of praise was a common device. George Mason, a prominent Virginia leader, said of Patrick Henry that

had he lived in Rome about the time of the first Punic War, when the Roman people had arrived at their meridian glory, and their virtue not tarnished, Mr. Henry's talents must have put him at the head of that glorious commonwealth.<sup>32</sup>

Likewise, Joseph Hawley of Massachusetts was described as possessing the virtue and spirit of a Roman censor;<sup>33</sup> and other men were similarly hailed as colonial Ciceros, Catos, or Senecas.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, 289.

<sup>30</sup> *The Colonial Records of North Carolina*: Raleigh (1890), ix, 984 f.

<sup>31</sup> *Memoir*, 318 f.

<sup>32</sup> Kate M. Rowland, *The Life of George Mason, 1725-1792*: New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons (1892), i, 169.

<sup>33</sup> *The Writings of Samuel Adams*: New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons (1907), iii, 238.

<sup>34</sup> In later years John Adams referred to Patrick Henry and Richard Henry Lee respectively as the Demosthenes and Cicero of America (*Works*, x, 272). Bland was known as the Virginia Cicero. Becker (*The Eve of the Revolution*, 66 f.) has carried on this tendency with his characteristic felicity by describing George Wythe, one of the

Furthermore, the frequency with which leading colonial writers adopted a classical *nom de plume* attested their high regard for Greek and Roman antiquities.

But whether admired or denounced, the colonial pamphleteers found in classical authors and history valuable if not bulky testimony to substantiate their case against the policy of Great Britain. True it is the references to English writers and English institutions were more common and impressive and in the long run proved more dependable for purposes of propaganda. This, however, was due to the fact that because the colonists were largely English in origin they wished to fight English policy with English precedents and ideals, not because the spirit of classical authors was unfitted to their use and purpose. Aristotle, Cicero, and Tacitus were always highly popular sources of appeal for those colonial publicists who were aware of their value. In fact, they were often scarcely less significant as intellectual guides than such influential English standbys as Edward Coke and John Locke.

From these few observations it is clear that the spirit of '76 had a most diversified origin. Colonial leaders did not hesitate to mobilize whatever intellectual resources appeared suitable to their purpose.<sup>35</sup> In listing the "founding fathers," it is not enough to include merely American patriots of the caliber of Jefferson, Franklin, and the Adamses. A place must also be found for men remote in time and distance from the British colonies in America. Demosthenes and Aristotle, Brutus, Cicero, and Tacitus belong there, as do many others of similar stamp and influence. These were ranged, albeit perhaps not altogether happily, under the banner of those revolutionaries who sought by every means within their power to convince the world of both the legal and the ethical validity of their opposition to the British Parliament. Not less than the Washingtons and the Lees, these ancient heroes helped to found the independent American commonwealth.

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more radical Virginians, as "the noblest Roman of them all, steeped in classical lore, with the thin, sharp face of a Caesar and for virtuous integrity a very Cato." Unfortunately for the historian, Wythe's influence was personal, not literary.

<sup>35</sup> This practice sometimes brought a jeer from the Tory ranks, as for example:

"Down at night a bricklayer or carpenter lies,  
Next sun a Lycurgus, a Solon doth rise."

Frank Moore, *Diary of the Revolution*: New York, Charles Scribner (1860), II, 22.

## Notes

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[All contributions in the form of notes for this department should be sent directly to Roy C. Flickinger, State University of Iowa, Iowa City, Ia.]

### A SUPPLEMENT TO "MATTHEW ARNOLD THE CLASSICIST"

In the valuable paper in the June number of the JOURNAL, bearing the above title, Professor Montgomery passed over without mention a suggestion of Arnold's concerning the teaching of Latin in "elementary" schools, which as a matter of some curious interest seems worth bringing to the attention of classical teachers. I was reminded of the passage in question on reading Professor Montgomery's paper and I turned to refresh my memory of it in the collected works of Arnold, but to no purpose. However an appeal to my friend and colleague Professor Arnold Whitridge, *ex stirpe memor*, yielded prompt reference to the desired place. It is found in the collected "Reports on Elementary Schools" (London, 1910). Arnold was not a professional literary man, as the bulk of his writing might lead one to suspect, nor a gentleman of leisure devoting himself to poetry and criticism, but a hard-working Inspector of Elementary Schools in the service of the national Board of Education. By "elementary" I assume that in age and advancement something corresponding to our grade schools is meant. In this capacity he made annual reports, which extend from 1852 to 1882, the essential parts of which are assembled in the volume referred to above. I quote from the Report of 1872, p. 148:

It may seem over-sanguine, but I hope to see Latin, also, much more used as a special subject, and even adopted, finally, as part of the regular instruction in the upper classes of all elementary schools. Of course, I mean Latin studied in a very simple way; but I am more and more struck with the stimulating and instructing effect upon a child's mind of possessing a second language, in however limited a degree, as an object of reference and comparison. Latin

is the foundation of so much in the written and spoken language of modern Europe, that it is the best language to take as a second language; in our own written and book language, above all, it fills so large a part that we, perhaps, hardly know how much of their reading falls meaningless upon the eye and ear of children in our elementary schools, from their total ignorance of either Latin or a modern language derived from it. For the little of languages that can be taught in our elementary schools, it is far better to go to the root at once; and Latin, besides, is the best of all languages to learn grammar by. But it should by no means be taught as in our classical schools; far less time should be spent on the grammatical framework, and classical literature should be left quite out of view. . . . I am convinced that for this purpose the best way would be to disregard classical Latin entirely, to use neither Cornelius Nepos, nor Eutropius, nor Caesar, nor any *delectus* from them, but to use the Latin Bible, the Vulgate. A chapter or two from the story of Joseph, a chapter or two from Deuteronomy, and the first two chapters of St. Luke's Gospel would be the sort of *delectus* we want; add to them a vocabulary and a simple grammar of the main forms of the Latin language, and you have a perfectly compact and cheap school book, and yet all that you need. In the extracts the child would be at home, instead of, as in extracts from classical Latin, in an utterly strange land; and the Latin of the Vulgate, while it is real and living Latin, is yet, like the Greek of the New Testament, much nearer to modern idiom, and therefore much easier for a modern learner than classical idiom can be.

GEORGE L. HENDRICKSON

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### THE SUBJECT OF *CATALEPTON* III

Aspice, quem valido subnixum Gloria regno  
altius et caeli sedibus extulerat:  
terrarum hic bello magnum concusserat orbem,  
hic reges Asiae fregerat, hic populos,  
hic grave servitium tibi, iam tibi, Roma, ferebat  
(cetera namque viri cuspidē conciderant),  
cum subito in medio rerum certamine praeceps  
corruit, e patria pulsus in exilium.  
tale deae numen, tali mortalia nutu  
fallax momento temporis hora dedit.<sup>1</sup>

Scholars have had great difficulty agreeing about the identity of the subject of this poem. Alexander the Great, Pompey, Mith-

<sup>1</sup> Quoted from F. Vollmer, *Poetae Latini Minores*: Leipzig, B. G. Teubner (1927).

ridates, Antiochus, and Phraates have all had their supporters, but none of them fits the entire poem well. For each one there is at least one phrase that casts doubt on his candidacy. Alexander and Pompey seem the most likely of the five, but *valido . . . regno* in the first verse casts doubt on the latter, and *e patria pulsus in exilium* in verse eight hardly applies to the former.

But why must we assume that a single character is the subject of the poem? The successive use of pronominal *hic* to refer to different subjects is by no means unheard of. A good example is to be found in Vergil's fourth *Eclogue* 55-57:

Non me carminibus vincat nec Thracius Orpheus  
nec Linus, *huic* mater quamvis atque *huic* pater adsit,  
Orphei Calliopea, Lino formosus Apollo.

It is possible, then, to assume that the poem may be a portrait of the type "proud conqueror," presenting four examples, all with the same fate. Let us see how the poem itself responds to this overture.

Verses one and two are general. They introduce the proud conqueror on his pinnacle.

Verse three refers to Alexander, the proud conqueror *par excellence*.

Verse four has two examples, and here we begin to see the poet building toward a climax. Interest in Alexander was general but impersonal to the Roman. With Antiochus, who is the logical subject for the first part of verse four, we have a conqueror who was felled by Rome; with Mithridates, the logical subject for the second part of the line, we have a tyrant who had slaughtered the Roman citizens throughout the province of Asia.

And who is the subject for verses five to eight? Who but Hannibal? Who but the conqueror who had brought the Roman Republic perilously near to her fall? Hannibal has never been considered seriously as the subject for this poem, and this is easily explained. Verses three and four do not fit him at all. Verses five to eight do fit Hannibal, however, and excellently well. Furthermore, if we are correct in assuming that Hannibal is the subject of these lines, we have a figure whose inclusion gives the poem a climactic point



which would have been well appreciated by a Roman even a century and a half after the Carthaginian general's death.

The last two verses are again general.

Since the date of composition of the poem is uncertain, its immediate significance must also remain doubtful. It seems not unlikely, however, that it may have been inspired by one of the several attempts to seize supreme power in Rome between 60 and 30 B.C.

W. E. GILLESPIE

PRINCETON, N. J.

### HAVE YOU HEARD THIS ARGUMENT FOR THE STUDY OF LANGUAGES?

In a letter addressed to the mayors and councilmen of German cities in 1524 Martin Luther made a plea for the instruction of German youth in languages and arts. He argued that, since the rulers could find vast sums to expend on such things as firearms, roads, bridges, and dikes, they ought also to pay some attention to a thing much more vital to the welfare of cities, viz., schools for the instruction of boys and girls in the liberal arts. The following is an extract from that letter:<sup>1</sup>

But [you say again] granted that we must have schools, what is the use of teaching Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and the other liberal arts? We can still teach the Bible and God's Word in German, which is sufficient for our salvation. I reply: Alas! I know well that we Germans must always remain brutes and stupid beasts, as neighboring nations call us and as we richly deserve to be called. But I wonder why we never ask: What is the use of silks, wine, spices, and strange foreign wares, when we have in Germany not only wine, grain, wool, flax, wood, and stone enough for our needs, but also the very best and choicest of them for our honor and ornament? Arts and languages, which are not only not harmful, but a greater ornament, profit, honor, and benefit, both for the understanding of Scripture and for the conduct of government, these we despise; but we cannot do without foreign wares, which we do not need, which bring us in no profit, and which reduce us to our last penny. Are we not justly dubbed German fools and beasts?

<sup>1</sup> *Works of Martin Luther*, translated by A. T. W. Steinhaeuser: Philadelphia, A. J. Holman Co. (1931), iv, 112 f.

Truly, if there were no other use for the languages, this alone ought to rejoice and move us, that they are so fine and noble a gift of God, with which He is now richly visiting and endowing us Germans, more richly indeed than any other land. There is little evidence that the devil suffered them to be revived through the universities and monasteries; these have, on the contrary, always raged against them and are still raging. For the devil smelt a rat and perceived that if the languages were revived, there would be a hole knocked in his kingdom which he might have difficulty stopping. Since he was unable, however, to prevent their being revived, his aim is now to keep them on such slender rations that they will of themselves decline and pass away. They are like an unwelcome guest who has come to his house; so he determines to show him such entertainment that he will not tarry long. Very few of us, my dear sirs, see through this wicked plot of the devil.

OSCAR E. NYBAKKEN

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## Book Reviews

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[Review copies of classical books should be sent to the Editorial Office of the JOURNAL at Washington University, St. Louis, Mo. Such works will always be listed in the department of Recent Books, and those which seem most important to the readers of the JOURNAL will also be reviewed in this department. The editor-in-chief reserves the right of appointing reviewers.]

*Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, Edited by a Committee of the Classical Instructors of Harvard University, Vol. XLIX: Cambridge, Harvard University Press (1938). Pp. 281+17. Frontispiece and 11 plates.

This volume contains the following articles: "Herbert Weir Smyth," by Carl Newell Jackson (1-22); "Euripides and Thucydides," by John H. Finley, Jr. (23-68); "Aristophanes and the Art of Rhetoric," by Charles T. Murphy (69-113); "Pliny the Younger's Views on Government," by Mason Hammond (115-140); "Letters and Speeches of the Emperor Hadrian," by Paul J. Alexander (141-177); "Aristotle on the Beauty of Tragedy," by Gerald F. Else (179-204); "Plautus and Popular Drama," by Alan McN. G. Little (205-228); "A Fragment of Juvenal in a Manuscript of Orléans," by Arthur Patch McKinlay and Edward Kennard Rand, with Addenda by B. M. Peebles (229-263, plates A-K); Summaries of Dissertations for the Degree of Ph.D., 1937-38: "The Phonology of Venetic" by Madison Scott Beeler; "*Quo modo Graeci vocales e et o designaverint*," by F. Stuart Crawford, Jr.; "*De gente Attica Eumolpidarum*," by Paul Lachlan MacKendrick; and "*De dis Syriis apud Graecos cultis*," by Francis Redding Walton (265-275). In the face of this array the reviewer can do little more than indicate briefly the scope of the principal articles.

The memoir on Professor Smyth is an eloquent tribute to one of America's greatest Hellenists. It contains a bibliography of Professor Smyth's works, but fails to mention his long service as secretary of the American Philological Association. Mr. Finley, after

examining similarities between Thucydides and Euripides, concludes that the parallels are sufficient to make it clear that the historian "was himself deeply affected by ideas current [in Athens] before his exile and that he attributes to his speakers thoughts and forms of arguments that were equally well known" (p. 68). "Aristophanes and the Art of Rhetoric" shows that Aristophanes, in spite of his attacks on the new education, was entirely familiar with the devices of rhetoric and capable either of parodying them or of using them seriously. Since the younger Pliny represents the average Senator of his day, his attitude toward the imperial government is of some importance. Mr. Hammond shows that he "reflects to a large degree the political ideas which are more thoughtfully expressed by the philosophers of the second century. These, however, he tempers with an artistocratic bias inherent both in earlier political thought and in the Roman tradition" (p. 139). Mr. Alexander's paper omits letters and speeches of the Emperor Hadrian that are preserved in ancient writers, but assembles and comments briefly upon the more important of the documents issued by the Imperial Chancery and of the speeches made by the Emperor as they survive in inscriptions, papyri, and legal writings. On the basis of the pure and mixed pleasures of Plato's *Philebus* and *Timaeus*, Mr. Else presents a very attractive explanation of the Aristotelian *katharsis*. According to him, the *katharsis* is not a part of the psychological effect of the drama on the spectator but is an element in its creation. By imposing order, proportion, and limit on the painful material that is the subject of tragedy the artist makes of it a beautiful whole capable of rousing pure pleasure. Mr. Else would translate the definition thus: "Tragedy is a representation of a serious action . . . [a representation] which, working through the medium of pathetic and fearful scenes, accomplishes the purification of such emotional material" (p. 197). In "Plautus and the Popular Drama" the author examines the evidence for Greek and Latin popular comedy (Dorian farce, mime, Atellana, etc.) and finds signs of the influence of such comedy on Plautus in his "predilection for the fooling type of play at the expense of the romantic interest" and in his frequent "choice of a well-known stock character as the butt of the fool-

ing" (p. 225). On the inner surfaces of the board covers of a *Vade Mecum* of Fleury (Orléans, 295), 116 lines of Juvenal (II, 32-89 and III, 35-93 with line 78 omitted) can be read in letters offset from sheets of parchment that once lined the covers. Messrs. Rand and McKinlay present the text of this fragment, which they regard as probably from the same source as P, Arov, and B, and also try (with little success, see the *addenda* by Mr. Peebles) to reconstruct the original of which these sheets once were a part.

RUSSEL M. GEER

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WILSON, LILLIAN M., *The Clothing of the Ancient Romans*, "The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Archaeology," No. 24: Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press (1938). Pp. 178+95 plates. \$5.00.

This excellent book is based upon a thorough study of evidence found in literary sources, sculpture, and painting, and tested by the actual making and wearing of the various garments. It is therefore able to correct errors in well-known handbooks and to provide much new information in a usable form.

Even to one well aware of the brilliant shades worn by Romans of the Empire, the wide range of shades comes as a surprise. Of 100 shades of purple, seven are reproduced in Plate I as accurately as can be done on glazed paper. At the end of each chapter dealing with important garments are given reconstructions, patterns, and photographs of living models. Taken with descriptions of Roman materials and the best modern substitutes for them, these should prove invaluable to groups who are putting on Latin plays or costume parties.

The chapter on the *toga* is a condensation of the author's earlier monograph.<sup>1</sup> Of especial interest in the chapter on the tunic are: the proof afforded by the monuments that two stripes were used; the clarification of Ovid, *Trist.* iv, 10, 27-30 by the suggestion that a very narrow stripe may have been worn by boys, a wider one by men of the equestrian order, and a very wide one by senators and the emperor (63 f.); the change in the tunic brought about by

<sup>1</sup> *The Roman Toga*: Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press (1924).

Oriental influence in the third century of our era (67). In discussions of undergarments and cloaks, the identification of the knee-length trousers often seen in reliefs with the *feminalia* of literature is particularly satisfying.

The wearing apparel of children and women presents less that is new, though the recognition that the *instita* is not to be seen in Roman art will relieve many a student who has unsuccessfully tried to find it on the full folds of the *stola* falling around the feet of a marble Roman matron seated in a museum. The number and variety of head coverings recall some of those used in Europe today.

There are some infelicities. It was unfortunate to state that the bride's hair was parted by "a sword" (140). The references quoted speak of *hasta caelibaris* or *hasta recurva*, which gives point to Blümner's cautious mention of "*eines besondern gekrümmten Instrumentes*."<sup>2</sup> Exception may also be taken to the assertion that the *toga virilis* was assumed "at the age of sixteen" (132). "At the age of puberty" would be more in accordance with the general evidence. The expression "third century A.D." is surely not permissible for a classical scholar. The notes are full, but their helpfulness would be increased by more careful proof-reading.

However, the usefulness of the book is not seriously impaired by these defects. It is heartily recommended to every teacher of Latin.

MARY E. ARMSTRONG

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BUSH, DOUGLAS, *Mythology and the Romantic Tradition in English Poetry*; Cambridge, Harvard University Press (1937). Pp. xvi+647. \$5.00.

This sequel to Professor Bush's *Mythology and the Renaissance in English Poetry* (1932), discusses not only most of the major and many of the minor English poets of the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth centuries, but also in a final chapter surveys the mythological tradition in American verse. Though chiefly con-

<sup>2</sup> Blümner, Hugo. "Die römischen Privataltertümer," in Iwan von Müller, *Handbuch der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, IV, 2, ii: Munich (1911), 352.



cerned with tracing the use of classical myth throughout this period, and though making this aim the principle of selection in the poems treated, Professor Bush frequently departs from the narrower view into more extended criticism of the poets considered. The erudite scholar is revealed in the condensed notes containing innumerable sources and parallels, and in the remarkable amount of comments of other critics focused upon the matter in hand; and the intelligent and independent critic is revealed in original critical dicta, penetrating and frequently at variance with the opinions of the warhorses of literary criticism. The book is a kind of encyclopaedia of criticism on English and American poetry of the last two centuries, in which, though the reader is frequently beset with the danger of being lost in a jungle of miscellaneous judgments, through the lack of controlling ideas, he is constantly refreshed by a host of felicitous phrases, both original and quoted. Had the study sought intensiveness rather than comprehensiveness, the reader would perhaps not have felt so keenly the need of generalizations to introduce some pattern or order into the mass of interesting critical analyses and appraisals, which leaves his memory in somewhat of a jumbled condition. Some unifying ideas there are, such as mythology and realism, the controversy between Christianity and paganism, and, what the author signalizes as one of his main theses, the idea "that mythological poetry is alive when myths are created, when they carry implications, and that mythological poetry in which myths are merely retold is, if not dead, at least of a very inferior order," a thesis restated and emphasized in the Conclusion. This idea suggests that Professor Bush holds certain values in common with the new humanistic school, though he is far from uncritical in his attitude toward them (cf. p. 527); and an elaboration of these values beyond the narrow limits of the Conclusion would not have been an unwelcomed addition to the book. Yet so rich is the volume in the literary findings of a mind steeped in classical and romantic lore, and of a judgment liberal but sound, that the reader can feel nothing but gratitude toward the author for many critical felicities and not a few chuckles.

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RICHARD F. JONES

*Charitonis Aphrodisiensis De Chaerea et Callirhoe Amatoriarum Narrationum Libri Octo*, Rec. et em. WARREN E. BLAKE: New York, Oxford University Press (1938). Pp. xx+142. \$3.50.

The text of Chariton's romance has a unique history; based upon a single manuscript, it has been edited four times, but none of the previous editors had access to the manuscript itself. Thus it was collated anew in 1842 by the Dutch scholar Cobet, who generously placed his collation at the disposal of Hirschig, then engaged on an edition of the *Erotici Scriptores* for the Didot collection (Paris 1856). Unfortunately Cobet, mainly intent upon producing a readable text, had failed, in his usual sovereign way, to distinguish between his new readings of the manuscript and his own emendations, although in his own copy, now in the library of the Leiden University, such a distinction was clearly indicated. Hence the ensuing confusion in the text of Hirschig, which the next editor of the *Erotici*, Hercher (Leipzig 1858-59), failed to remove. Since then two papyri, one dating from the second, the other from the second or third century A.D., have contributed little to the text beyond affirming our faith in the extant manuscript. But Chariton, who had been considered the last and the worst of the *Erotici* (Rohde had placed him in the fifth or sixth century), was now proved to be one of the earliest, if not the earliest—although his claim to be the worst of them presumably remains undisputed.

To the present editor belongs the distinction of having published the first reliable critical edition of Chariton's work. He has consulted not only the manuscript itself but also Cobet's own copy; moreover, of all the pertinent literature nothing has escaped his diligence and of all this material he has made judicious use in the preparation of his own edition, supplementing the critical notes with a second set in which he has gathered all suggested emendations of the text. Corrections of his own he has introduced sparingly, but some of these deserve to be classed as brilliant (e.g., p. 33, 1. 16), worthy of the great Cobet himself. Nor has he committed the error Cobet is occasionally guilty of, viz., that of correcting the Attic of the author, where further study shows Chariton to have been but a faltering disciple of the Atticizing school. In short, here is an edition of what is possibly the first romance of the

Western world which will rank with the best products of American scholarship.

N. P. VLACHOS

TEMPLE UNIVERSITY

Chariton's *Chaereas and Callirhoe*, Translated from the Greek by WARREN E. BLAKE: Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press (1939). Pp. vi+125. \$2.00.

Professor Blake now has added to his edition of Chariton's *Chaereas and Callirhoe* an English translation, which at last will make this, possibly the first extant novel in European literature, accessible to Greekless readers. That this is a competent translation goes without saying. But Professor Blake has done better than that; he has given us a version which for sheer readability far exceeds the original. For he has frequently turned the stilted Greek, product of the rhetorician's mind, into a racy English equivalent which falls pleasantly on the ear of the modern reader. Thus we find τὴν ἄκαιρον καὶ περιττὴν σοὶ γυναῖκα (I, 12, 4) turned into "that misplaced nuisance of a woman," and ὦ πασῶν ἀνοητοτάτῃ γυναικῶν (VI, 7, 9) becomes "you poor, silly girl" while εὐφήμεσον (*ib.*) is rendered "Keep a civil tongue in your head." This is all to the good. The present reviewer feels, however, that Professor Blake might have expanded his preface and informed his readers more fully of the antecedents of the original, which might have gone far to account for Chariton's many ineptitudes. In appearance and make-up the book leaves nothing to be desired.

N. P. VLACHOS

TEMPLE UNIVERSITY

HILL, VICTOR D., SEEGER, DOROTHY M., and WINCH, BERTHA M., *Teaching First-Year Latin*: Athens, Ohio, The Ohio Latin Service Committee (1938). Pp. xvi+280. \$1.60.

This is a revision of the edition which I reviewed for the CLASSICAL JOURNAL (XXVI, 381-383) in 1931, under the title "Bulletin on First-Year Latin." The new edition has been enlarged by twenty-

four pages, and many pages are fuller in content. The paper is whiter, the print blacker, and the cover is an attractive blue and gold. The book is sold on a non-profit basis.

The general structure of the book is the same as that of the 1930 edition, but many chapters have been rewritten in the light of present trends in secondary education and the problem of the place of Latin in the high-school curriculum.

There are ample bibliographies at the close of Chapters VII, IX, XI-XV. The authors throughout have abstained from dry, technical discussion of the theories of teaching. It appeals to the reviewer that the suggestions for classroom methods have been supplied by successful teachers of high-school Latin.

This book should be of definite assistance to beginners in the teaching of Latin, and Professor Hill and his co-workers are to be congratulated upon their sound and constructive work.

DORRANCE S. WHITE

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## Hints for Teachers

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[Edited by Dorothy M. Bell, Oberlin College, Oberlin, Ohio. The aims of this department are threefold: to assist the inexperienced teacher of Latin, to help the experienced teacher keep in touch with matters of interest to the professional world, and to serve as a receiving center and distributing point for questions and contributions on teaching problems. Questions will be answered by mail or in the pages of this department. Contributions in the form of short paragraphs dealing with projects, tests, interest devices, methods, and material are requested. Anything intended for publication should be typed on stationery of regular size. All correspondence should be addressed to the editor of this department.]

### Final Letters

The letters of the alphabet are far from enjoying equal rights with one another. Some of the more favored ones are forever shouldering the less favored ones aside. The most popular, most often recurring, letter in English words is *e*. In any passage of connected discourse this letter will appear more frequently than any other, much more so than most of the others. This fact is emphasized for us when we consider the words in any cross-word puzzle. The one who frames such a puzzle exhibits a fondness for words containing this letter; and words in which it occurs more than once, such as *ewe*, *serene*, *sere*, *delete*, are special favorites.

Close after *e* in frequency of occurrence comes the letter *s*. And its frequency has perceptibly increased in historic times. It has crowded out *-eth* as the ending of the third person singular of verbs; for the subjunctive without *s*, "if he come" we now hear the indicative with *s*, "if he comes"; and in some instances the Anglo-Saxon plural form in *-n* is giving way to the modern form in *-s*, "cows" instead of "kine," "brothers" instead of "brethren."

Furthermore, as to position within the word letters vary. Certain positions are granted freely to some letters but denied or granted grudgingly to others. The letter *x* may stand at the beginning only in a few words derived from the Greek, and *y* and *z* are granted this honor in comparatively few words, while neither *j*, *q*, nor *v* may ever stand at the end of a word.



These peculiarities are more marked in Latin. There are nine letters in the Latin alphabet which never stand at the end of a word. They are: *f, g, j, k, p*, (except *volup*, for *volupe*), *q, v, y, z*. And of the letters which enjoy this privilege some appear in very few words. The letters most frequently occurring at the end are *a, e, i, o, m, r, s*, and *t*; the reason being that these letters furnish the inflectional endings of nouns, pronouns, adjectives, and verbs.

As to the other letters, I think the following lists are substantially complete:

Words ending in *b*: *ab, ob, sub*.

Words ending in *c*: *allec, lac, dic, duc, fac, ac, nec, donec, sic, nunc, tunc*, the various cases of *hic*, and adverbs of place such as *hic, hinc, huc*. All these words, except *donec* (from *donicum*) originally ended in *e*, which early disappeared. This is obvious in the case of the three imperatives; *lac* and *allec* are for *lacte* and *allece*; and in all the others final *c* is the remnant of the enclitic demonstrative particle *-ce* or of *-que* with the *e* dropped.

Words ending in *d*: *ad, apud, haud, quoad, sed, aliud, id, illud, istud, quid, quod*. The surds *b* and *d* evidently were in disfavor as final consonants, as also in Germany today, where these letters at the end of a word lose their true sound and are pronounced *p* and *t*; as indeed in Latin we sometimes find *aput, haut, set*, for the usual spellings; and we are reminded that the primitive ablative ending *d* was early lost. Some influence, however, preserved *d* as the ending for the nominative singular of certain pronouns.

Words ending in *h*: *ah, oh, proh*.

Words ending in *l*: *animal, minutal, consul, exsul, praesul, mugil, nihil, pugil, vigil, sal, sol, fel, mel, pol (edepol), vel*. As to these words we observe that they are all nouns or adjectives capable of declension except the conjunction *vel* and the interjection *pol*. Most of them have two or three syllables.

Words ending in *n*: *an, en, in, non, quin, sin, tamen, gluten, lien, pecten*, nouns in *-cen* (*tibicen*), and in *-men* (*nomen*); also *viden* for *videsne*, *audin* for *audisne*, etc.

Words ending in *u*: fourth declension forms and *diu, noctu, simitu*.

Words ending in *x*: *ex, mox, sex, vix*, and nouns like *rex, index*.

Most of the words in these lists other than those ending in *l* are prepositions, conjunctions, or adverbs, and are monosyllabic.

The only combinations of consonants permitted at the end of a word are as follows: *s* preceded by *b, c* or *g* (= *x*), *n, p, r*: *urbs, rex, amans, adeps, ars*; *t* preceded by *n* in the third person plural; *c* preceded by *n*, as in *nunc*, etc.

The following unique forms occur: *ast, est, post, hiems, puls, fert, volt*.

We find indications of a tendency to slur and even to drop the final consonant. For instance, Quintilian (*Inst. Orat.* ix, 4, 39) tells us that *m* final had a faint sound and indeed was often inaudible. In confirmation of this we observe the figure of ecthlipsis in prosody and the frequent omission of final *m* in inscriptions. To indicate this loss of sound Verrius Flaccus proposed a new character, namely one-half of the letter *m*, to be used before a word beginning with a vowel. Moreover in primitive times *m* disappeared as the ending of the first person singular of verbs in the present, perfect, and the future of the first and second conjugations, surviving only in *sum* and *inquam*. Similarly final *s* and final *t* are sometimes missing in inscriptions, and Cicero tells us (*Orator* 161) that final *s* before a consonant was often not pronounced.

As to other languages than English and Latin, it is interesting to observe that Greek words may end in any one of the vowels, but among consonants only in *ν, ρ, σ* (including *ξ, ψ*). The proclitics *ἐκ, οὐκ, οὐχ* are only apparent exceptions. No Greek word ends in *μ*, the usual accusative ending in Latin, the Greek substituting *ν* therefore.

The modern Romance languages are true to the Latin tradition, vowel endings being the almost universal rule in Italian, in somewhat less degree in Spanish and Portuguese. The same may be claimed for French, if we remember that in this language the final consonant which appears in the written word often loses out completely in spoken discourse. The extent to which the Romance languages have given up even the few consonant endings of the parent Latin is illustrated in such a sentence as the Spanish proverb: "*No es oro todo lo que reluce*." If we substitute for these words

the Latin words from which they are derived, we get "*Non est aurum totum illud quod relucet.*" Each one of these words in the course of the centuries has lost its final consonant.

WALTER A. EDWARDS

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**A Proposed Program for the College One-Teacher Latin Department**

The content and manner of teaching high-school Latin have changed considerably since the publication of the *Classical Investigation*. What about college Latin? Are college students being wisely prepared for teaching the more varied high-school program? Are they being taught the many phases of Roman culture that will enrich their own lives?

The universities and larger colleges where more than one teaches in the Latin department are able to give a varied college course. What of the one-teacher department of Latin or even of classics of so many of the small colleges? There it is not the lack of desire to give more courses, but the lack of teachers.

Students who elect four years of Latin in college, courses that are entirely translation except one in composition and occasionally one teachers' course, reach the end of their college work with a very hazy notion of the ancient world: its mythology, geography, its great writers, its history, and its private and public life. Few go on to a graduate school; few study systematically by themselves. Those who do go to a graduate school find that they are expected to know that material, or, failing that, to acquire it along with their regular graduate work.

By the time a student has had four years of Latin in high school, he might in his four years of college work well spend but two hours a week in translation and one hour a week in acquiring further insight, by methods other than translation, into the culture of the ancients. In many colleges at the present time the first semester of the first year is given to translation of an anthology of Latin poetry. That would be a good time to spend the one hour a week in the three-hour course on a short history of Latin Literature, so that students would not fall into the error of one who, when asked to name the works of Vergil, replied, "The *Bucolics*, *Georgics*,

*Aeneid* and the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid," because those works had been bound together in the paper-covered text used in class.

The second semester, with its course in Horace, in which place-names new to most students are encountered, would be opportune for a study of classical geography. The catalogue description of the Horace course could include the phrase, "with special emphasis on classical geography."

In these days when Italy is so frequently mentioned in the news and maps of Italy are often seen in the newspapers, it is amazing how vague even the outline of the country is to some students. When asked to make a sketch map of Italy from memory, some even point the boot of Italy in the wrong direction. (I remember when I first went to Sunday School and saw a map of Palestine. It was by itself with no countries adjoining to help me locate it. I heard it called the Holy Land. I heard mention of heaven, so it seemed to me that Palestine must be in heaven; it wasn't near Maine or New Hampshire, I was sure of that.) Not much clearer than that is the conception of Greece, Italy, and the Mediterranean region to some present-day college students. Wouldn't it vastly enliven their study of places mentioned in literature, were they to be taught the geography of the ancient world—how the size of the Mediterranean world compares in size with the United States; how the latitudes compare; what state of the United States is equal in size to Italy; what, to Greece; where the famous places of antiquity are located and for what they are famed?

Along with the translation in the first semester in the second year might go a study of mythology.

A brief review of the important events of Roman history in the second semester would refresh the students' minds on events studied in the high-school course in ancient history.

The one hour a week in the third year could well be devoted to Roman private and public life. And in the first semester of the fourth year a short course in Roman archaeology might be given. Then the second semester would be left for a review and summary of all the material given in the non-translation periods during the preceding three and one-half years, either course by course or by a set of miscellaneous questions for which answers were given in

the preceding courses or in reference material easily accessible. If the college has a one-teacher Latin department, these courses plus a one-year course in composition and a one- or two-hour teachers' course could be easily given without burdening the teacher too heavily. If the college has a one-teacher classics department, then the material for the third and fourth years could be alternated except for the review course, which should come just before graduation. The juniors and seniors should be separated for that course and the junior group be given Roman public and private life and the senior group, the review course.

If a teacher objected to giving over one hour a week to this material, it might well be presented three hours a week at the beginning or end of the three-hour translation courses.

These courses would help prepare the student to enjoy much more fully his own further reading in Latin and enable him as a teacher in high school to make the Romans live before the eyes of the students. And the graduate student would have a better background of material, so that his one, two, three years or more of graduate work could be devoted to more detailed studies of the same subjects and to the more strictly graduate courses.

KATHARINE TUBBS COREY

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## Current Events

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[Edited by George E. Lane, Thayer Academy, Braintree, Mass., for territory covered by the Association of New England and the Atlantic States; Dwight N. Robinson, Ohio Wesleyan University, Delaware, Ohio, for the Middle States east of the Mississippi River; G. A. Harrer, the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C., for the Southeastern States; Russel M. Geer, Tulane University, New Orleans, La., for the Lower Mississippi Valley and the Southwest; Alfred P. Dorjahn, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill., and Franklin H. Potter, the University of Iowa, Iowa City, Ia., for the Middle Western States. News from the Pacific Coast may be sent to Fred L. Farley, College of the Pacific, Stockton, Calif.]

This department will present everything that is properly news of general appeal, but considerations of space compel the editors to ask that items be made as brief as possible. Whenever feasible, it is preferable to print programs of meetings which would draw an attendance from a large area as live news in advance of the date rather than as dead news after the event. In this connection it should be remembered that the December issue, e.g., appears on November fifteenth and that items must be in hand five or six weeks in advance of the latter date.]

### Iowa

Professor Dorrance S. White is broadcasting over the university radio station WSUI at 9 A.M. on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday *The Greek Epic in English* from the classroom, the first semester, and *The Greek Drama in English*, the second semester—also from the studio throughout the year, twice weekly, *Roman Letter and Story*. During this past summer he presented *The Greek Lyric in English* as a feature of the College of the Air.

Professor White has also accepted an invitation to speak at the Classics Section of the Illinois High School Teachers' Conference, to be held November 3 at the University of Illinois on the subject, *Language and the Creative Arts*.

### Michigan

An Institute for Teachers of Latin sponsored by the Summer Session of the University of Michigan was held at Ann Arbor, July 10-15. The Director of the Institute was John G. Winter. The following is a condensed program: "North Africa under the Romans" (two illustrated lectures), Winter; "The Latin Curriculum of the University High School," Dunham; "Pharaoh Seeks Eternal Blessedness" (illustrated), Edgerton; "How May We Strengthen the Appeal of Latin without Impairing Its Value?" Dunham; "The University of Michigan's Excavation of Seleucia-on-the-Tigris" (illustrated), Hopkins;

"The University of Michigan's Excavation of Karanis, Egypt" (illustrated), Peterson; "Problems of the Latin Teacher in a Large High School," Roehm, Thomas M. Cooley High School, Detroit; "The Excavation of Dura-Europos" (illustrated), Hopkins; "The Latin Teacher's Role in Curriculum Improvement," Anschutz, Bay City Junior College; "An Exhibition of Some of the University's Archaeological Collections," Peterson; "A Visit to Delphi" (illustrated), Pack; "Latin in the High School as Observed by an Inspector," Dunlap; "Roman Humanism: Cicero's Testimonial," Solmsen, Olivet College; "Music among the Greeks and Romans" (demonstrated with the violin), Meinecke; "A Lesson in Greek," Blake.

#### Missouri

Doctor Jonah W. D. Skiles, of Louisville, has accepted an appointment at Westminster College as Professor of Latin and Greek. He succeeds Professor R. G. Peoples, who is retiring.

#### Texas Latin Teachers Institute

From June 12th to 17th the University of Texas was host to the Latin teachers of the State for a week of lectures and conference. The program consisted of two lectures each morning, a round table discussion hour each afternoon, and an illustrated lecture each evening. Dr. B. L. Ullman of the University of Chicago was chief speaker and also led the round table discussions on such questions as "Comprehension or Translation?" "What Shall We Read?" "Teaching Devices," "How Shall We Increase Latin Enrollment?" Other subjects were treated by the University staff in Classical Languages: W. J. Battle, D. A. Penick, and H. J. Leon. C. C. Glascock and A. B. Swanson of the Department of Romance Languages lectured on the Latin element in Spanish and French.

A feature of the Institute, which was of great interest to the teachers, was an exhibition of books suitable for classical libraries in high schools. These were on display in the Classical Library of the University. In another room, kept open three hours each day, was a display, collected and arranged by Marian C. Butler of the Waco Senior High School, of samples of work done by Latin pupils in Texas high schools. Here were seen scrapbooks, posters, games, models in clay, wood, and paper, marionettes, courses of study, other teaching devices, and plans for arousing interest among pupils and parents. This room was always full of teachers busy with their notebooks.

Forty-three teachers registered for the Institute and many others attended for a day or an occasional lecture. They were unanimous in their appreciation of the effort and in their request that the Texas Latin Teachers Institute become an annual event.

## Recent Books<sup>1</sup>

[Compiled by Herbert Newell Couch, Brown University]

- AESCHYLUS, *The Persians*, Translated by Gilbert Murray: New York, Oxford University Press (1939). Pp. 92. \$1.00.
- AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS, III, With an English Translation by JOHN C. ROLFE; "Loeb Classical Library": Cambridge, Harvard University Press (1939). Pp. ix+602. Maps. \$2.50.
- Anthologie grecque, Tome IV, Livre VII, Épigr. 1-363, Text by P. WALTZ, translation by A. M. DESROUSSEAUX, A. DAIN, P. CAMELOT, AND E. DES PLACES: Paris, Les Belles Lettres (1938). Pp. 207. Fr. 50.
- BIEBER, MARGARETE, *The History of the Greek and Roman Theater*: Princeton, Princeton University Press (1939). Pp. ix+465. \$7.50.
- BLOCH, HERBERT, *I Bolli Laterizi e la Storia Edilizia Romana*; Contributi all'Archeologia e alla Storia Romana: Vols. I, II, & III: Roma, Carlo Colombo (1936-1938). Pp. 353.
- BOTSFORD, GEORGE WILLIS, *Hellenic History*, Revised and Rewritten by CHARLES ALEXANDER ROBINSON, JR.: New York, Macmillan (1939). Pp. xiv+398, 8 figures, 72 plates, 17 maps. \$4.50.
- BRAUN, M., *History and Romance in Graeco-Oriental Literature*, With a Preface by A. J. Toynbee: Oxford, Blackwell (1938). Pp. xiii+106. 7s.6d.
- BUCKLAND, W. W., *A Manual of Roman Private Law*:<sup>2</sup> London, Cambridge University Press (1939). Pp. 464. 16s.
- Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. XII, The Imperial Crisis and Recovery, A.D. 193-324. Edited by S. A. COOK, F. E. ADCOCK, M. P. CHARLESWORTH, N. H. BAYNES: New York, Macmillan (1939). Pp. xxvii+848, 10 maps, plans. \$10.00.
- Cambridge Ancient History*, Volume of Plates V, Prepared by C. T. SELTMAN: New York, Macmillan (1939). Pp. xv+121. \$4.00.
- CAMERON, A., *The Pythagorean Background of the Theory of Recollection* (Doctor's Thesis): Menasha, Wis., Banta Press (1938). Pp. viii+101.
- CHARBONNEAUX, J., *La sculpture grecque archaïque*: Paris, de Cluny (1938). Fr. 50.
- CHEADLE, J. R., *Basic Greek Vocabulary*: New York, Macmillan (1939). Pp. xi+49. \$.75.
- COLWELL, ERNEST CADMAN, AND MANTEY, JULIUS R., *A Hellenistic Greek Reader*, Selections from the Koine of the New Testament Period: Chicago, University of Chicago Press (1939). Pp. xv+229. \$2.00.

<sup>1</sup> Including books received at the Editorial Office of the CLASSICAL JOURNAL, Washington University, St. Louis, Mo.

- CRAWFORD, D. S., *Greek and Latin, An Introduction to the Historical Study of the Classical Languages*; No. 21, "Collection of Works Published by the Faculty of Arts": Cairo, Fouad I University (1939). Pp. 331.
- DELATTE, A., *Herbarius, Recherches sur le cérémonial usité chez les anciens pour la cueillette des simples et des plantes magiques*: Paris, Librairie E. Droz (1938). Pp. 176, 4 plates.
- DEMOSTHENES, *Private Orations*, Vol. II, With an English Translation by A. T. Murray; "Loeb Classical Library": Cambridge, Harvard University Press (1939). Pp. viii+419. \$2.50.
- DEUTSCH, ROSAMUND E., *The Pattern of Sound in Lucretius* (Doctor's Thesis): Bryn Mawr (1939). Pp. 188.
- DEWIT, JOHANNES, *Spätrömische Bildnismalerei, stilkritische Untersuchung zur Wandmalerei und verwandter Monumente*: Berlin, Verlag für Kunstwissenschaft (1938). Pp. 63, 54 plates.
- ERB, OTTO, *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft im Denken der hellenischen Antike* (Doctor's Thesis): Altenburg, Pierer (1938). Pp. 67.
- EURIPIDES, *Electra*, Edited with Introduction and Commentary by J. D. DENNISTON: New York, Oxford University Press (1939). Pp. xlv.+225. \$2.75.
- EVANS, ELIZABETH C., *The Cults of the Sabine Territory*; "Papers and Monographs of the American Academy in Rome" Vol. XI; Horn, Germany, Ferdinand Berger (1939). Pp. xiv+254. 7 plates.
- FERRABINO, A., *La dissoluzione della libertà nella Grecia antica*: Padova (1937). Pp. xiii+151.
- FICARO, QUIRINO, *La morale di Seneca*: Pesaro, Arti graf, Federici (1938). *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, Vol. XLIX: Cambridge, Harvard University Press (1938). Pp. 275.
- HASKELL, H. J., *The New Deal in Old Rome, How Government in the Ancient World Tried to Deal with Modern Problems*: New York, Alfred A. Knopf (1939). Pp. xii+258. Index. \$2.50.
- HAVELOCK, E. A., *The Lyric Genius of Catullus*: Oxford, Basil Blackwell (1939). Pp. 198. 8s.6d.
- HEATON, JOHN WESLEY, *Mob Violence in the Late Roman Republic 133-49 B.C.*; "Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences," Vol. XXIII, No. 4, Pp. 106. \$1.50.
- HERODOTUS, *Book II*, Edited by W. G. Waddell: London, Methuen & Co. (1939). Pp. ix+332. 8s.6d.
- HERODOTUS, *Book VIII*, Edited by J. ENOCH POWELL: New York, Macmillan (1939). Pp. xxvi+166. Map. \$2.00.
- HICKMAN, RUBY M., *Ghostly Etiquette on the Classical Stage*, "University of Iowa Studies in Classical Philology," No. 7: Torch Press (1938). Pp. 226. \$4.00.
- HOSLETT, SCHUYLER DEAN, *Lucretius, His Genius and His Moral Philosophy*: Kansas City, The Midland Publishers (1939). Pp. vii+48.

- HUBAUX, JEAN ET LEROY, MAXIME, *Le Mythe du Phénix*, dans les Littératures grecque et latine: "Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de l'Université de Liège" Fascicule LXXXII: Paris, E. Droz (1939). Pp. xxxi+266.
- JAEGER, WERNER, *Paideia*, The Ideals of Greek Culture, Translated by G. Highet: London, Blackwell (1939). Pp. xxix+450. 15s.
- JOHNSON, ROZELLE PARKER, *Compositiones Variae*, From Codex 490, Biblioteca Capitolare, Lucca, Italy, An Introductory Study; "Illinois Studies in Language and Literature", Vol. XXIII, No. 3: Urbana, University of Illinois (1939). Pp. 116. \$1.50.
- KOERTE, A., *Menander, Reliquiae*, Pars I: Leipzig, Teubner (1938). Pp. lxviii+150. RM 4.95.
- KOESTLER, ARTHUR, *The Gladiators*; Translated by Edith Simon: New York, Macmillan (1939). Pp. 398. \$2.50.
- KNIGHT, W. F. JACKSON, *Accentual Symmetry in Vergil*: Oxford, Basil Blackwell (1939). Pp. x+107. 6s.
- LETTIS, C. F. C., *The Eruption of Vesuvius*: New York, Macmillan (1939). \$0.76.
- LORD, LOUIS E. AND WOODRUFF, LOURA BAYNE, *Latin—Third Year*: New York, Silver Burdett Co. (1939). Pp. xii+127. Illustrations. \$2.04.
- LOSEBY, P. J., *Roman Aeneas*; Selections from Virgil's *Aeneid* (I-VI) with a Connecting Narrative in English: New York, Macmillan (1939). Pp. 214. \$0.84.
- MEIER, THEODOR, *Das Wesen der Spartanischen Staatsordnung*, Nach Ihren Lebensgesetzlichen und Bodenrechtlichen Voraussetzungen; "Klio," Beiheft XLII: Leipzig, Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung (1939). Pp. vi+102.
- MERITT, B. D., WADE-GERV, H. T., AND MCGREGOR, M. F., *The Athenian Tribute lists*, Vol. I: Cambridge, Harvard University Press (1939). Pp. xxxii+605, 25 plates.
- MÜLLER, SIEGFRIED, *Das Verhältnis von Apuleius de Mundo zu Seiner Vorlage*: "Philologus," Supplementband XXXII, Heft 2; Leipzig, Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung (1939). Pp. 178. RM 11.
- NAVILLE, E. H., *Archaeology of the Old Testament*: New York, Leland (1937). Pp. 224. \$1.75.
- Pastoral Elegy*, An Anthology; Edited by THOMAS PERRIN HARRISON, JR., English translations by HARRY JOSHUA LEON: Austin, University of Texas (1939). Pp. xi+312.
- PATERSON, J., AND MACNAUGHTON, E. G., *The Approach to Latin*, First Year: London, Oliver (1939). Pp. 304. 3s.9d.